THE New Republic

CALIFORNIA: THE COATS COME OFF

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The Dead Sea Scrolls

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

A Symposium

Millar Burrows
Edward P. Arbez
Frank M. Cross
W. F. Albright
Gustave Weigel
Amos Wilder
R. B. Y. Scott
James Muilenburg
H. L. Ginsberg
William H. Brownlee

RICHARD ROVERE

The Evil Conspiracy Against MacArthur

APRIL 9, 1956

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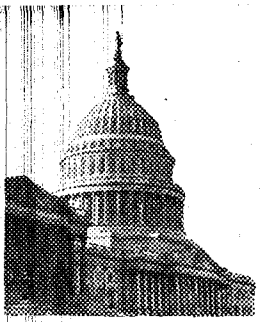

Washington Wire

Where power lies

EARLY IN THE LIFE of the Eisenhower Administration Clarence Davis, then Solicitor and now Under-Secretary of the Interior Department, was visited by a friend, a registered power lobbyist named Herman C. Kruse from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. The company had appeals before the Department. According to Davis' own testimony he asked Kruse to get him a detailed proposal for changes in federal power right-of-way regulations—a crucial matter over which PG&E then had appeals pending. Nobody else was at this Davis-Kruse meeting; neither then nor subsequently were the farm co-operatives and municipally-owned utilities consulted although they were deeply involved.

The private power corporations got together and drew up a 13-point list of changes. These were put down on an anonymous paper. The utilities gave the document to Kruse; he gave it to Davis, who gave it to a department solicitor of his own appointment named James Geissinger (now regional solicitor at Denver) for study. Geissinger testified under oath before the House Public Works and Resources subcommittee (whose report has now just been published, March 28), that Davis had told him he "didn't know" where the document came from. On August 11, 1954, the Interior Department put all these lobby recommendations but one into effect; 10 of the 13 were adopted as the power trust wrote them, another had a minor word added, another was paraphrased with the meaning unchanged, and one was rejected.

The incident occurred and is documented. Most of it Davis admits. The changes made were important and were written without consultation with the other parties affected. Federal regulations seem to have been disregarded which forbid private consultations between government employees and parties-at-interest. Well, this is how a big business administration operates.

The efforts of an oil lobbyist in trying to slip $2,500 to a Senator in the fight over the natural gas bill created a national sensation; but here is a case where a lobbyist was brought in by the Administration and told to write his own ticket, and did. You can't steal things where they're given away.

Wisconsin primary

IN 1944 AND 1948 the Wisconsin primaries gave the GOP a 2-to-1 ratio over the Democrats. In 1952 it was 3-to-1 (776,000 to 241,000). Wisconsin voters can choose either the GOP or Democratic ballot once they are inside the secret polling booth. By the time you read this you will know the Wisconsin result; the thing to remember is that the GOP normally has a thumping ratio there. Any deviation from that norm in 1956 could be significant.

Parley in a sandtrap

WE HAVE TALKED to several reporters back from the Eisenhower-Canadian-Mexican conference at White Sulphur Springs. Their eyes are still popping. The chief executives from Ottawa and Mexico City couldn't seem to figure out what it was all about. Neither could the reporters. Eisenhower knew; he had come to play golf with professional Sammy Snead. The reporters couldn't kick—there was a free bar open all the time—but why, after all, were they there? Mexicans were happy; they were upgraded. Canadians were miffed; they were down-graded. Otherwise the two had little in common. There was no agenda. At the wind-up Eisenhower scheduled two-hour individual conferences with each guest; these were cut down to 20 minutes when it turned out they had nothing to say. Ike got out on the links again.

Shrewd writers believe that this was smart politics. "The average American," one of them explained, "distrusts striped pants and diplomacy. He favors man-to-man talks at top level. It's what he thinks he would do if he were President. Ike went out personally and ended the Korean War, didn't he? How can you explain that the real US-Canadian problems are so technical that Ike probably has never heard of them? This was good headline stuff and made votes." The conference has been dubbed "the lowest 'summit' conference."

Padlocking the "Worker"

NOTHING IRRITATES us more than to be put in a position where we have to defend the Communist *Daily Worker*. Without prior consultation with Washington, a New York district director of the Internal Revenue Service named Donald R. Moysey raided the paper and padlocked it on extremely dubious grounds in a contested tax case. This gave the Communists a million dollars worth of publicity and sent a shiver through every thinking journalist in America. Nobody regards the *Wall Street Journal* as dangerously radical. It is a good strong conservative newspaper and we like it. We agree with it heartily when it says that if procedures like this were "to be used to punish those in political disfavor, then a great many more freedoms than freedom of the press would be in danger."

Ike will campaign

WE ARE SAVING up a list of statements by Eisenhower that he isn't going out to campaign this fall out of respect for his high office—because we expect that he is going out. Maybe we are dead wrong but we don't think this election is yet in the bag for anybody and we suspect the strain will just get too much for Ike and that he will give up some of those proposed back porch TV speeches for trips out to see the voters. He has changed his mind before. He wasn't going to campaign actively in 1952—and he did; he was against active campaigning again in 1954—and did. He was against making Communism an issue in 1954—and commended Nixon for his speeches doing just that. Ike loves to win, and he is persuadable. He thought he wasn't going to run this year but powerful men around him said he would, and he is. In the tariff fight last year Ike thought he would make no concessions, but did; he thought he would hold on to the Dixon-Yates contract—he didn't. Flexibility is a fine thing, and the President has it. We expect to see him out on the hustings.

T.R.B.

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The New Republic
A JOURNAL OF OPINION

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Correspondence

► *"I Know It's Coming"*

SIRS:

I am one of those Southerners who rejoiced when the Supreme Court handed down its decision declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional.

I wished that Steve Lewis had lived to see it. But he died three years too soon. Dr. Stephen Lewis was a Negro dentist in my Virginia village of Manassas. He was also editor of the quarterly Bulletin of the (Negro) National Dental Association. I am in the printing business: we printed his magazine.

A majority of the patients who visited this excellent dentist were white a phenomenon which few in this Southern community attempted to reconcile with their notions about Negro inferiority. Dr. Lewis would not have been

(*Continued on page 31*)

The Democratic Party

IN THE LIGHT of the Court ruling on integration and the President's endorsement of it, there is no easy way in which Sen. Harry Byrd and his associates in Louisiana, South Carolina, Texas and Florida can deliver their states once again to the Republicans. South Carolina, in consequence, is pressing for a return to the strategy of 1948. The South Carolina Democrats will meet before the national Democratic convention, will recess without adjourning to go to Chicago, and will reconvene after Chicago to consider their course. By this means they intend to bring pressure to bear on the national party, and if they fail, to raise again the Dixiecrat banner.

The South Carolina leaders are urging all Southern Democrats to follow their lead. So far they have won little response. However, 18 weeks remain before the national convention. Chicago may prove as dangerous for the party as the one which followed the Dred Scott decision a century ago.

That decision broke the Democratic Party. The Southerners insisted that the 1860 convention follow the Court in sanctioning the extension of slavery to the territories. The convention would not, and they went their way toward Fort Sumter. It was 32 years before the nation judged the Democratic Party fit to govern the United States.

If they cannot dictate the policy of the Democratic Party, then Senator Byrd, and his associates in Louisiana, South Carolina, Texas and Florida, will wish once again to deliver their states to the Republicans. But the President's support of the Court ruling on integration leaves them no easy way. South Carolina, in consequence, is pressing now for a re-enactment of the separatist strategy of 1948. Governor Allan Shivers has sworn that if he leads the Texas delegation to Chicago, he will attempt to write an endorsement of the Virginia doctrine of interposition into the 1956 platform.

Menacing as these threats of secession may seem, far heavier pressures are bearing down upon the Democratic Party from outside the South. Of all elements in the Democratic coalition the Negroes have been the most loyal. Seventy percent voted Democratic in 1954, and gave the party its winning margin in New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Michigan. The same vote represents now the balance of power in the Republican states of California, Ohio and Illinois. Knowing this the Republican Party is saturating the Negro community with paid political organizers. Closely allied with the Republicans, the Teamsters Union for its own reasons is financing the campaigns of Negro extremists whose message is: outlaw compromise.

Knowing this, Northern Democratic leaders foresee a nightmarish result in which "the party of the people" loses 14 million Negroes in order to hold onto the small and shrinking group of Southern segregationists. That

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course, they must conclude, means not only the party's ultimate death, but worse—their own immediate defeat.

"Why," liberals and independents are asking, "should we labor for the Democratic Party if the first fruit of our labor is to be the return of Sen. James Eastland to head the Judiciary Committee?" Far more intransigent are the many trade unionists who will go to Chicago as Democratic delegates, and the white politicians from predominantly Negro wards. These men know that a triumphal return awaits them if they drive Eastland out of the party at Chicago. Nor do they distinguish between Eastland and the many moderates who joined him in signing the Declaration on Integration.

RESPONSIBLE Northern leaders will resist the temptation to drive the South from the party for the sake of its political effect. Yet they must stand firm committing the Democratic Party to end segregation. The plank they can accept would include these provisions:

No compromise with legally enforced segregation: this means if not a ringing endorsement of the Court decision, then at least a call for compliance with the law as it stands today.

Support for "all deliberate speed": President Eisenhower has insisted that the South show progress: Democrats can do no less.

Protection from violence in the interim: This is an extension of the civil-rights sections of the criminal code to make a conspiracy to inflict violence a federal offense.

Enforcement of the right of all to vote: Involved here are federal guarantees of freedom from coercion or intimidation to prevent voting, by permitting civil suits in coercion cases to be brought in federal courts.

Revocation of the right of Senate filibuster: This means the promise of new rules on Senate cloture which would permit the legislation cited above to be brought to a vote.

No less than this can be demanded by the majority of Democratic delegates, and if no more is required of the convention, this much will be accepted by all but a small minority. The Eastland minority no longer belongs in the Democratic Party and has no claim upon it. Other Southerners like Lister Hill and William Fulbright remain the nation's best hope that segregation can be abolished with a minimum of violence and bitterness. These men will oppose the platform outlined here. But when it is adopted they will remain loyal Democrats. On this platform, then, the Democratic Party can remain national in structure and yet firm in principle on the largest and most divisive issue in American politics.

The "Right of Silence"

WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMAN, named by Elizabeth Bentley as one of her colleagues in a wartime espionage ring, has repeatedly refused to confirm or deny her story. When questioned by a federal grand jury in New York investigating espionage and kindred matters, he claimed the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination. Upon request of the US Attorney, Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld ordered Ullman to answer the grand jury's questions. In return he was granted, in accord with the Act, immunity from prosecution "on account of any transaction, matter or thing" about which he was compelled to testify. Ullman, however, refused to comply with the order, arguing that the law was unconstitutional. He was sentenced to six months in jail for contempt of court. The conviction was affirmed, though with reluctance, by a three-judge Court of Appeals, and last week by the Supreme Court, 7-2, opinion by Justice Felix Frankfurter, Justices William Douglas and Hugo Black in dissent.

The decision seems pretty clearly right. Ullman argued that if he were to admit he was a Communist, he would be subject to penalties other than criminal prosecution, such as being prevented from holding a government job. The Court's answer was short: Only fear of sanctions of a certain kind, primarily criminal, will justify a refusal to answer on Fifth Amendment grounds.

Ullman's more basic constitutional objection was that the Fifth Amendment prohibits compulsory testimony regardless of immunity, that it creates a right of silence which the government is without authority to invade. This view appealed to Justice Douglas. Economic and social ostracism follow incriminating testimony on the subject of Communism or espionage, he argued. Congress is powerless to protect a person from these consequences.

His argument may persuade some that a wise and

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responsible legislature would hesitate to resort to this kind of compulsion against witnesses. But on the question of whether the Congress can constitutionally do so, Justice Douglas ignores both the language of the Fifth Amendment—which is limited to the use of compelled testimony in criminal prosecutions—and its history. A federal immunity law was first held constitutional in 1893 (by a 5-4 decision it is true), and such laws have been repeatedly approved by the Court since.

Despite the many questions about the new Immunity Act settled in the *Ullman* case, some remain undecided. The most significant relates to witnesses before Congressional committees. The procedure for granting immunity to Congressional witnesses appears to assign an unusual role to federal judges. The inquiring committee by a two-thirds vote (or a house of Congress by a majority vote) petitions the court to order the witness to testify and notifies the Attorney General of this action. He may appear before the court to oppose the petition if he desires. The responsibility which the Act gives to the judge in such a situation is unclear: is he supposed to weigh the committee's need for the testimony for "legislative" purposes against the Attorney General's need for silence for "enforcement" purposes? If so, is this a "judicial" function, for only such functions can be vested in a federal court under the Constitution.

These questions remain open, despite the opinion in the *Ullman* case. Not until they are settled will we know whether the Immunity Act permits a Congressional committee to wrest incriminating answers from a witness in exchange for immunity.

Disarmament

THE SEEMING turn-about by the Russians at the London disarmament talks brought some concessions of undoubted merit. The USSR offered to submit to an immediate freeze on conventional armaments and a 15 percent cut in arms budget, to reduce Russian and American military manpower to 1.5 million men over a three-year period (the Russians cutting a million men more than the US would), and to permit the policing of these steps by an international control agency. Until the negotiators can examine the fine print, it is not possible to judge whether the control agency would have adequate powers. Nor is there much reassurance for the West in the fact that the Russians have now backed away completely from negotiation on nuclear controls, even so mild a beginning as the Eisenhower proposal for a freeze on nuclear weapons manufacture. Nevertheless, they have created the image—rightly or not—that the East and West are moving closer together.

For the USSR, 1955 was "be kind to neutrals" year. It was the time of the Bandung Conference, the beginning of aid to Egypt, and the Bulganin-Khrushchev missionary visit to South Asia. Russia was prepared, its leaders said, to destroy its bombs, but the West spurned this evidence of peaceful intent. But the Russian theme for 1956 is "united front with socialist parties within the Western alliance." Differences are minimized. Disarmament policy must now stress probable Russian-American agreement. Already these tactics have produced an Icelandic request for American withdrawal from the airbase there and Washington defense officials fear similar demands from nationalists elsewhere—in Morocco, Libya, Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines.

Ex-Stalinists of the West

THE KHRUSHCHEV speech attacking Stalin has spread confusion and alarm throughout the main Communist Parties of the West. For the first time the leadership in Italy, France and Britain are under attack for being so obsequious—an astonishing charge in a movement which has so far insisted on the most craven obedience. Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the largest Communist Party outside Russia, was the first to comment on the Khruschev speech. Since then a meeting of Communist deputies in the Italian Chamber has spent two days in discussing the revelations. Togliatti's chief lieutenants, Giancarlo and Giuliano Pajetta, seem to have tried to fob off the critics by saying that it was the future which mattered and not the past. When this maneuver failed, Togliatti made a long speech in which he attempted to excuse himself. He had done his best. When he was secretary of the Communist International in Moscow, he had often talked to Soviet leaders of Stalin's "violations of revolutionary legality"—and then added that he had been unable to take up these shortcomings with Stalin himself. Whether this explanation will satisfy the Party as a whole remains to be seen. Stalin was revered by humble Communists in Italy who knew him affectionately as *Baffone* because of the moustache. Whatever gloss is put on the new Party line, the Italian rank-and-file is hardly likely to fight the forthcoming elections with the same ardor as of old.

The situation in France is even more curious. The French Communist Party has always been fanatically Stalinist—"We are proud to be Stalinists" has been M. Thorez's recurring cry throughout the years. For this reason the French Party's headquarters was far more vitriolic about Tito at the time of the Yugoslav break with Moscow than any other Western Party. It went even further later on. When Khrushchev visited Belgrade, the French Communists dutifully published the official communique, but they circulated a private version to the faithful, suggesting that Tito had come so near to collapse that he had to beg Russia for help. The Khrushchev speech thus puts the French leadership on trial and indeed the reticence of the party press suggests that Thorez and Duclos are trying to drag their feet. In the

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past this might not have mattered. This time the rank-and-file can appeal to Moscow.

The British Communist Party is also in a painful position. King Street, its London headquarters, takes its orders from Moscow via Paris and whenever theological doubts have broken out in London, a French comrade has come over to lead the brethren in prayer. The British Communists have therefore been very much under French influence, and the leaders have been Stalinists to a man. Mr. R. Palme Dutt, the party's chief theologian, devoted pages of his paper, *The Labour Monthly*, to a eulogy of the great man and Mr. Harry Pollitt, the General Secretary, wrote a tribute "with tear-blinded eyes and a grief we have not the language to describe." Mr. Pollitt said:

> I have met Comrade Stalin many times. Never since my first meeting with him in 1921, together with Comrade Lenin, have I met anyone so kindly and considerate, so easy to talk to and exchange views, and one so obviously only actuated by the desire to help.

Mr. Pollitt's subsequent attempt to reconcile this kindly, lovable old gentleman with the lunatic despot portrayed by Khrushchev has naturally not carried conviction. The columns of *The Daily Worker* have been crowded with letters of doubt and protest.

But the Khrushchev speech raises another question: Does it not in fact strongly suggest that Stalin was murdered? We are now told that for years every member of the hierarchy went in terror of his life, and it does not take much imagination to realize what must have been their panicky reaction when Stalin ordered the arrest of the doctors shortly before his death. This charge is now admitted to have been a phony. Knowing this, Khrushchev and his colleagues must at the time have felt that it was the first shot in yet another crazy purge that could end in the liquidation of them all. There is, too, an item of news that may turn out to be significant. In February, shortly before Stalin's death, an obscure paragraph in the Soviet Press announced the untimely death of a high-ranking officer of the Kremlin guard. Was he disposed of in order that the conspirators could gain access to the tyrant? It may be years before we know the answer; in the meantime it seems a fair comment that if Stalin died a natural death it was a most providential deliverance for Khrushchev and his friends.

London

The Middle East

ONE HAND of France, as Colin Legum observes in this issue, stretches across the Mediterranean in a desperate effort to hold on to whatever can be held in North Africa. The other hand of France appears to be reaching out for a new accommodation with post-Stalin Russia.

Premier Mollet and Foreign Minister Pineau go to Moscow in May, and it is now accepted that the French Government has adequate political backing for a policy that includes three distinct moves, all taken within the past two weeks:

First, a strong hint by M. Pineau that France is considering a separate approach to Russia on disarmament and the German question;

Second, a statement by the Foreign Minister to the effect that he and M. Mollet will formally ask the Soviet Government to join the West in a common scheme for economic aid to backward countries;

Third, renewed criticism of the Baghdad Pact by M. Mollet, and indications he and his advisers want to convene a Middle Eastern conference, with the participation of as many states in the region as possible.

A Middle Eastern conference would enable the French to reintroduce themselves into the picture, mediate between Egypt, Syria and Israel, and lay the groundwork for replacing the tripartite American-British control of the region (which is slipping anyhow) by a quadripartite arrangement including Russia. If this project can be sold to the Soviet Government, France will have scored a major diplomatic triumph.

BUT Great Britain is about to undergo some painful heart-searching on the subject of Egypt. Up to a few weeks ago, the British were still committed to the idea of basing their Middle Eastern policy on Colonel Nasser's supposed willingness to become a pillar of law and order, and that policy was energetically pressed upon Secretary Dulles during the Eden visit last February.

Since the Jordanian coup, and still more since Nasser's increasingly truculent private and public utterances on the subject of Britain's remaining positions on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, he stands revealed to the British as at best a kind of Middle Eastern Peron. This is *not* the moment, the British are sure, for calling a full-dress Middle Eastern conference which Nasser could turn into a minor Bandung. Egypt would probably insist on Greece being brought in, which would aggravate the Cypriot problem. The Greek Minister of State is now touring Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, canvassing Arab support for the Greek case, apparently with some success; the thinking that lies behind this link-up is perhaps best summarized by the Egyptian envoy in Athens, Abdul Razek, who is quoted as saying: "If Greece quits NATO and the Balkan alliance, she is bound to join an association with Belgrade and Cairo."

It may be premature to suggest that post-Stalin diplomacy is closing in on one of its central targets, disunity among the Big Three of the West. It is probable, however, as the diplomatic correspondent of the highly conservative *Sunday Times* of Britain writes, that "while France is moving a bit too fast for Britain, and much too fast for the United States, she is moving in a direction that begins to look inevitable."

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California, Here I Am

On his March 22 trip through California, Estes Kefauver found no reason to change in any way his appeal. "Political leaders in Minnesota," he declared in Los Angeles,

> . . . put obstacles in my way. But that caused the people there to give me a hearing. The situation here is substantially the same, although it is not as highly organized.

A public opinion poll showed that while Stevenson was still favored in Los Angeles, Kefauver's strength had tripled. The conservative Los Angeles press unanimously conceded Kefauver victory in the June primary. According to a poll by the Los Angeles firm of Walter H. Eaton & Associates, the Tennessean's drawing power among the city's Democratic voters had jumped from 7 percent February 1 to 22 percent as of the last week of March. Stevenson's rose from 49 percent to 52 percent in the same period.

Campaigning as though he was running for county judge, Kefauver would now and then pluck a supporter out of the crowd, as at Chino:

> I'm happy to have as district chairman Milton Bell. Milton, stand up so the folks can see you. Actually, you know, the people who do the work are Milton's wife, Harriet, and his son, Royce.

To match this folksy approach, Stevenson supporters paraded with pie plates on which was crudely stenciled: "I'm a party boss for Adlai." And yet, even as Stevenson himself, in a hurried trip to California, was shaking hands with apple vendors, truck drivers and shopkeepers and munching sandwiches at delicatessens, his effort seemed forced. The Stevenson version of the Kefauver "Ma'am, I'm from Tennessee and I'd like your support" was given at a revival meeting of Stevenson workers in Los Angeles:

> I know nothing that has touched me more profoundly or that has moved me more than the fact that the leaders of the Democratic Party in the state of California should have given me their support and their confidence unsolicited—should have asked me if you please to once more undertake the greatest responsibility that any American can undertake which is to seek the Presidency of this land.

In the Los Angeles area, Kefauver and his motorcade raced 80 miles an hour up and down the freeways from one small meeting to another, hunting down the voters safari style. Kefauver speeches wound up with: "I want you working people to know that if I'm elected President of the Yew-nited States, I'm for you." This simple peroration had the effect of a ninth inning home run on 400 shirtsleeved men and cotton-dressed women at a community baseball park in San Bernardino County. They let out a whoop that rocked the wooden grandstand.

With a trace of Southern courtliness, Kefauver moves in on a customer like a street-corner evangelist, looking for a soul to save. Thus a woman window shopping in San Francisco saw Kefauver's reflection looming up in the plate glass window. She turned and found herself shaking his hand. "My name is Estes Kefauver, Ma'am, and I'm from Tennessee. . . ." "Oh, yes, yes," she fluttered, "isn't that wonderful!" She stared after the Senator as he moved-off down the street, finally turning back to a contemplation of a corset sale in the window.

Stevenson and Kefauver have now matched each other on segregation, guarantees to Israel and condemnation of the "management packed" National Labor Relations Board. But Kefauver's simple declaratory sentences seem to penetrate more easily than Stevenson's delicate phrasing. Stevenson's speeches seem to exhaust him in their preparation, on which he focuses all his energy. Kefauver's talks are studded with colloquial errors in grammar, conveying the impression of earthy common sense.

After waving to followers at the San Francisco International Airport, Stevenson moved off surrounded by his aides to board a motor caravan. Porters who were struggling with the party's baggage asked each other: "Which one is Stevenson?" No one in the Stevenson party paid any attention to them, occupied as they were with the task of getting the candidate away to a women's meeting. But Kefauver will not depart while there is a porter within handshaking distance, and no one seems to have any trouble identifying him. He stands out like Pike's Peak.

Los Angeles

'Bye Teaneck, Hi Nutley

Estes Kefauver's lasting contribution to progress may lie less in the realm of political theory than in his having discovered the secret of perpetual motion. We quote from *The New York Times* of March 30:

> The Senator will arrive in Newark [N.J.] shortly after 2 a.m. on April 6. At 10 a.m. he will hold a press conference there and then go on to a rally at the City Hall. . . . During the afternoon he will tour Passaic County industrial plants. He will go on to Princeton, New Brunswick and Lakewood in the evening. In Princeton he will address the Whig-Cliosophic Society; in New Brunswick the Rutgers Economic Honor Society, and in Lakewood a rally staged by the Egg Producers Co-operative of New Jersey.
>
> On April 7 he will tour farmers' markets throughout South Jersey, attend luncheons at Whippany and Linden, rallies at Newark and Nutley, and a cocktail party in Teaneck. In the later afternoon and evening he is scheduled to tour Bergen and Hudson Counties. He will complete the day by attending a midnight dance in Newark.

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The Superficial Aspect

Southern Manifesto

THE MANIFESTO of the 96 Nullifiers who favor segregated schools has the superficial aspect of a pronouncement that the Supreme Court is unconstitutional. In this respect it bears some resemblance to the famous bill introduced by a legislator of the last generation which provided that in the state of Missouri the value of *pi* should be 3, instead of the conventional, but inconvenient, 3.1416.

But it also bears some resemblance to another pronouncement that wasn't comic in the least. When the Supreme Court confirmed certain rights of the Cherokee Indians as against the state of Georgia, the President of the United States, by name Andrew Jackson, said—or is said to have said—"Well, John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it." What then became of the Cherokees' rights? That aspect of the matter is not funny at all.

If the leader of the recalcitrant South, Sen. Harry Byrd, of Virginia, has conceived the singular idea that he is at least six Calhouns, one may afford a smile. But the thought of the innocent third parties who are likely to be smashed in this collision is no laughing matter. Public education in the South, by long and arduous labor brought close to the national standard, can hardly escape serious damage; which means that the rising generation will be less adequately trained in competent citizenship; and the South is a quarter to a third of the country.

As the tension increases—if it increases—another class of victims will presently be as extinct as Cherokees in Georgia. This class consists of those liberal Southern leaders, white and black, who for 90 years have wrestled with the problem of race relations, and who had learned a great deal about it. Booker T. Washington has been largely discredited by his own people, but he did a great deal to preserve them from the fate of the German Jews. On the other side, it seems probable that the late Howard W. Odum is going to be discredited by his people; but he taught them more of the facts about race relations than white people have ever learned in so short a time.

Race prejudice will never be entirely eliminated until we become a population of saints and sages; but techniques for controlling it and suppressing its more barbarous manifestations have been applied with increasing success in the Southern states. If you doubt it, compare Senator Eastland's Mississippi with Bombay, Algiers and Cape Town, to say nothing of Dachau and Buchenwald. An explosion of race hatred would discredit all that work, to the loss not of this country only, but of any other that is struggling with a similar problem and that might have profited by our experience.

The honorable members who signed that manifesto certainly did not believe that they were putting their names to an incendiary document, for they have everything to lose by an explosion. Their purpose undoubtedly was to check the extremists in the North by showing them the difficulty and danger attending the eradication of any long-established social pattern. But that it will have the desired effect is doubtful, to put it mildly. It is more likely to inspire the Get-Tough boys with renewed confidence in the righteousness of their own policy.

Yet if the long tribulation of the South has proved anything at all, it has proved that getting tough is no solution for this kind of problem. Nor does the evidence of the South stand alone. Hitler confirmed it in Germany. Moslem and Hindu are confirming it in India, as are *colon* and Berber in Algeria and Afrikaner and native in South Africa. That way leads only to genocide.

CERTAINLY there are white men in the South who would, if they were not restrained, exploit the Negro with a ruthless savagery indistinguishable from that which white men in Pittsburgh and Gary applied to Wops and Hunkies and Polacks as long as they could. But such primitives do not dominate the scene. The proof is the simple fact that the Southern Negro's status has been improving not only steadily, but at an accelerating rate.

Well, we now have the decision of a unanimous Court; and if honorable members from the South seem to be talking like Andrew Jackson, it is not advisable to concentrate all attention on putting them in their place. Remember the Cherokees. Now, even as then, the children, white and black, are innocent; and the civilized Southerners, white and black, deserve something better than total extinction.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE

Will the farm vote cost the Republicans the election in November?

Next week, The New Republic *will report on the extent of unrest in farm areas and estimate the probable political consequences.*

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Algeria–Can France Hold On?

LAST YEAR, native Algerian rebels in the town of Ainabid massacred a group of women and children and an aged cripple. A four-day-old baby was shot, then decapitated on the edge of a bathtub. Bodies of the victims were mutilated with axe, pick and poignard. Two days later, in the same town, an Algerian prisoner was shot in the back, and in cold blood, by a French gendarme.

Up to this date, the violence in Algeria continues. It is matched by the arrest recently in Paris of 2,700 persons who took part in a mass procession of workers and students bearing aloft the Algerian flag. And last month, Poujadists and rightist students attacked a prayer meeting of North African students in Montpellier.

Premier Mollet

As allies of the French, the US and Britain have a direct and apprehensive interest in the struggle between France and the Algerians demanding full independence. But the concern of France is immediate and tragic. After the war, France lost Syria and Lebanon; it suppressed a dangerous rebellion in Madagascar. The French enclaves in India have been absorbed into the Indian nation. The Viet-Minh has gone under Communist rule; and the ties of southern Indo-China to France are slender. The Saar, France's economic dominion in Europe, has clearly shown its desire to return to Germany. And finally, Morocco and Tunisia have cut away French controls to the extent of becoming independent and interdependent within the French Union. A key point to French leaders is that Algeria is the "archway" linking metropolitan France to its vast West African territories. If North Africa should be lost, France then might well lose Black Africa too.

In her efforts to reach some settlement of Algerian demands, France has now received assurances of support from the US. Our Ambassador has commended the French Government's "liberal program in Algeria," warned terrorists not to believe they have "the support of my government or of any segment of our public opinion." It is by no means clear, however, what this support involves. In the following article, the African correspondent of the *London Observer* suggests the lines which such support by the US and Britain might take.

by COLIN LEGUM

THE REASONS for the impasse in Algeria are painfully familiar. We have come across them before in Indo-China, in South Africa and in Kenya. In Indo-China, France failed to realize the dynamic upsurge of Asian nationalism and of anti-colonialism, just as in Algeria it has failed to respond to Muslim nationalism and resentment against all that is implied by colonial status. In Kenya, Mau Mau had its roots in land hunger, poverty and frustration, and in resentment against a minority of White settlers determined to maintain their privileged position. In South Africa, three million Whites have committed themselves, in the name of Western civilization, to preserve their supremacy over 11 million non-Whites. We find the same White settler attitude displayed by the French *colons* of Algeria.

Fewer than one million *colons* have sought, in the name of French culture, to preserve their higher status over 8 million non-French Muslim Algerians. It is true that French culture, technical and financial aid has done much to raise living standards in Algeria. It would be as wrong to look over this unassailable fact as it would be to deny the failures of French policy.

The immediately outstanding fact is that after 120 years of French rule based on a policy of assimilation and of liberty, equality and fraternity there are not one but two Algerias: the one French, the other Muslim. French Algeria is relatively well-off and, in patches, very wealthy. Muslim Algeria is poor and, for the greater part, miserably so. About 1.5 million Algerians are entirely dependent on funds sent home by 300,000 Algerian workers in France.

The bulk of Algerians live on and off the land. But

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though they are outnumbered by eight to one, the *colons* own one-third of all the arable land.

What of political rights? Formally, the position is that half the seats in the Algerian Assembly are reserved for French citizens (including assimilated Muslims) and the other half for the Muslims. In fact, the *colons* dominate the Assembly and maintain a powerful lobby in Paris: a lobby so powerful that it could truthfully boast of its role in overthrowing Mendès-France.

SUCCESSIVE French Governments have proved themselves unwilling or unable to break the stranglehold of the *colons*, whose shortsighted policies have encouraged the growth of frustrated non-French (though not necessarily anti-French) Muslim parties. Each time one of these parties has grown too strong (as in Kenya and South Africa) it has been suppressed at the behest of the *colons*.

The result is that each new party that has risen in place of a suppressed one has been progressively less moderate.

Extremism has become a vicious circle in Algeria. Each new phase of militancy by either the Muslims or the *colons* has been the signal for greater reaction by the other side. Increasing militancy caused by internal friction has been stimulated by external factors— such as the rise of Egypt as a fomentor of pan-Arab nationalism, and the defeat of France in Indo-China.

The *colons*—incensed by what they feel to be the "betrayals" in Indo-China, Tunisia and Morocco by a "weak and corrupt government in Paris"—have become no less rebellious than the Muslims.

The result is that France is now faced with two rebellions in Algeria: one by the Muslim nationalists, the other by the *colons*. Concession to either side inflames the other. Conciliation seems out of the question.

It is clear that unless France is prepared to adopt an equally tough attitude to both sides it will forfeit its position as a Metropolitan power. So far, toughness has been largely reserved for the Muslims; attempts to be tough with the *colons* have always come to grief.

M. Robert Lacoste, the French Resident-Minister in Algeria, speaking recently in the Assembly, said: "We must prove to the Muslims that *the period of contempt is over.*" And the Prime Minister, M. Mollet, declared that France "will keep Algeria only if we cease to be conservative." These speeches of M. Mollet and M. Lacoste show that belatedly the French Government has genuinely reappraised its policy in Algeria. But will the government be able to persuade the *colons* to accept this new attitude, or will it capitulate before them as its predecessors have done? The attitude of France's allies must depend on the answer to this question.

There is, however, another question no less important. Has France's conversion come too late for reforms—no matter how radical—to halt the onslaught of the Muslim nationalists? The belated promise of reforms did nothing to save France in Indo-China. Is this to be the case also in Algeria? For an answer to this question we must examine the character and strength of the Algerian rebels.

The National Liberation Front is strongly entrenched and popularly supported. The peasants, either because they believe that the rebels will improve their lot or because they are terrorized, support the rebellion. For the time being, therefore, the rebels hold the tactical advantage in the struggle for the support of the rural masses. It is doubtful whether France can persuade the peasants to believe in its promised reforms so long as the rebels promise victory. This analysis, if it is accurate, suggests that before any reforms can be of value the power of the rebels must be broken. Already, France has committed almost a quarter of its total armed forces to achieve this.

The rebels are well-armed and growing in strength. Their present striking force is probably 12,000. Recruits are apparently plentiful; the limitation is that of arms. These are reaching Algeria through Libya from Egypt, and from Spanish Morocco. Much of the Algerian terrain is a gift from the gods to guerrilla fighters. And the rebels have good leaders. Their commander-in-chief is Mohammed ben Bella, a much-decorated *chef de section* of the French Army. His chief lieutenants include many well-trained junior officers.

Nor do the rebels fight alone. Their Cairo committee, headed by Mohammed Khider, a former Algerian deputy in the French parliament, is in close contact with the Egyptian Government and with the Arab League. Radio Cairo gives powerful support to their cause. No wonder that Khider boasts: "It is not just the rebels who fight in Algeria; behind us are the Arab nations." And behind the Egyptian bloc, the Russians?

THAT is what the French believe. They claim that Russian arms are releasing Egyptian arms that are shooting down the French in Algeria. From this, the French argue that Russia is making a breach in the Western line of defense.

Arms are said to reach Algeria via Libya, the desert kingdom that is in the Western camp and offers facilities to the US and Britain for important bases. France insists that Anglo-American action in Libya can cut the rebels off from Egypt and Russia. Such a claim overlooks Libyan sovereignty. There is good reason to suppose that if Libya were pushed too far it might "do a Jordan" on its allies.

From the analysis thus far it is clear that Algeria is not just a French problem. It represents an extension of the frontier in the present political conflict between the pan-Arab revolt (subtly egged on by Russia) and the Western powers. Anglo-American commitments to France cannot be isolated from that wider sphere. Mohammed Khider recently told a correspondent in Cairo: "Our people see French soldiers in American uniforms

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riding in American tanks—what do you expect them to think? They don't know anything about Communism, so they are neutral about it."

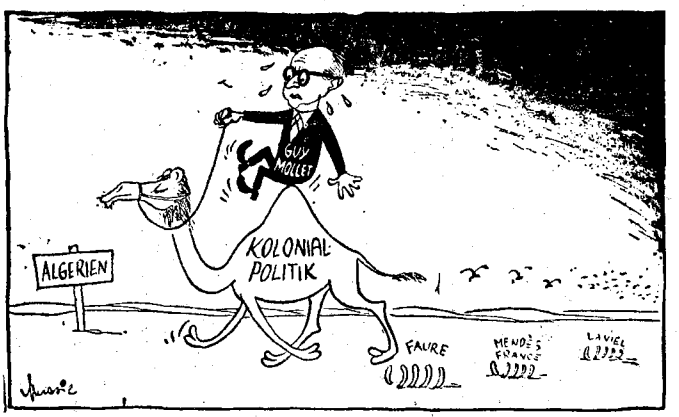
The rebels are no longer willing to accept reforms to redress their wrongs—reforms which five years ago might have been welcomed with open arms. They now demand a fully independent Muslim State in Algeria: a demand inspired by the contemporary pan-Arab offensive and fired by religious fanaticism. It is difficult to see how France can deny to Algeria what it has conceded to Tunisia and Morocco. This is a vital question when one comes to consider if it is possible to detach the nationalists from this pan-Islamic Front. It is difficult to say. Certainly, a victory for the National Liberation Front would greatly strengthen the hand of Egypt and its allies, and would be hailed as a great Arab victory.

But what will be the consequences of a long and bitter struggle in Algeria, assuming—as one must—that the policy of reform will fail to deter the rebels? Such a struggle will keep the Arab cauldron boiling merrily, and will give incalculable opportunities for anti-Western propaganda which will further weaken US, British and French influence in the Middle East and North Africa. It will strengthen Russia's propaganda in the Middle East and in Asia: "another colonial war." It will sap France and weaken its hold over its other African territories.

The disadvantages are indeed numerous. But we return to our original question: what are the alternatives? Clearly, France cannot abandon Algeria: its 900,000 *colons* don't permit of such a policy. Therefore, willy-nilly, it must fight.

M. Mollet has denied that the Algerian Special Powers Act (which, for their own quixotic reasons, the French Communists did not choose to oppose) is inspired by a policy of militarianism. He claimed that the French Government had always possessed the necessary military powers. What it needed was the power to carry out far-reaching social, economic and political reforms. Under the Emergency Act the government can expropriate land, suspend civil liberties, impose customs duties, institute a state of siege, install immediate censorship, fire and hire hitherto immovable civil servants and spend unlimited amounts of French taxpayers' money.

THE political reforms must, however, await Algeria's pacification. Then the Algerians will be allowed free elections. But nothing is said about the form of these elections. Nor is there any clarity about whether the Muslim majority will be permitted to swamp the *colons'* minority. One thing is said, however. Algeria will never be free to declare its independence. While recognizing the right of Algerian nationhood, the Algerians will be free only to decide what form the "indissoluble links" with France will take. Once again, such a program would have been acclaimed by Algerian leaders five years ago. Today their attitude is much more doubtful.



A travers le désert
(Frankfurter Rundschau)

So, while the social and economic reforms must be welcomed as a great step forward, there is less cause for enthusiasm about the promised political reforms. If France wants the full support of the US and Britain, it should clarify this vital, and most vulnerable, aspect of its New Deal policy. Algeria is the decisive test of Anglo-American friendship for France. If France cannot count on the wholehearted support of its Allies on this issue, it may conceivably slip out of NATO, and for this reason the US and Britain have no alternative but to side with France in Algeria. But must it be an unqualified alliance? France must, for her own sake and for the sake of the Western alliance, lift Algeria out of the arena of "colonial warfare."

It has gone some way toward achieving this result as the speeches of M. Mollet and M. Lacoste show. But it must go further. And in doing so it is entitled to the fullest backing of the US and Britain. But before such support can be honestly given, five steps must be taken:

1. The US and Britain should make it clear that they will fully support France in helping to achieve a peaceful settlement in Algeria.

2. France must define precisely what political status Algeria is to be given. This should provide not only for Algerian nationhood to be accepted and respected, and for the minority rights of the *colons* to be safeguarded, but it should allow of Algeria's being linked as a free and equal partner of France.

3. France must show the same vigor in forcing the *colons* to accept the authority of the French parliament as it shows in its dealings with the nationalist rebels.

4. France must announce its willingness to negotiate with influential Muslim leaders (as opposed to the "stooges" in the Algerian Assembly) for a cease-fire and for the implementation of the promised reforms. Here the mediating services of Tunisian and Moroccan leaders would be useful.

5. The US and Britain should be ready to associate themselves with France in underwriting these guarantees. And they should associate themselves with France in addressing a stern warning to Egypt to desist from giving any form of support to the rebels.

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HOW DO THEY AFFECT TRADITIONAL BELIEFS?

The Dead Sea Scrolls

Before and since Edmund Wilson's fascinating story of the discovery of ancient scrolls in Palestine caves, biblical scholars and laymen have been debating how, and if, the findings might alter religious faiths. In this symposium, ten outstanding authorities give their personal views.

"Found in caves and crevices"

THE MANUSCRIPTS now commonly known as the Dead Sea Scrolls were found in caves and crevices in the cliffs of the arid, desolate region just to the west of the Dead Sea near its northern end, at the bottom of the eastern slope of the Judean plateau. The most ancient of the manuscripts were in caves clustered about a rugged valley, the *Wady Qumran.* A ruined building, the *Khirbet Qumran,* on the northern edge of the valley, has been shown by excavation to be the monastery of a pre-Christian Jewish sect. Remains of a plaster table and bench, two ink stands, and a potsherd on which the Hebrew alphabet was written indicate that this was the place where the manuscripts were copied. The community which had its center here had withdrawn to this wild spot, as one of the scrolls says, to prepare in the desert the way of the Lord by the study of the law.

In another valley a dozen miles to the south, the *Wady Murabbaat,* other manuscripts, later than those of the *Wady Qumran,* have come to light. They come from the 2nd Century A. D., the time of the final, disastrous revolt of the Jews against Rome. Subsequent discoveries of still other manuscripts from later centuries and in various languages have resulted from a zealous exploration of the whole region stimulated by the finding of the Qumran texts.

The first scrolls were accidentally discovered in a cave by two Bedouin goatherds early in the year 1947 but did not become known to archeologists until a year later. The disturbed condition of the country then prevented an examination of the cave, but early in 1949 it was excavated by G. L. Harding, Chief Inspector of Antiquities in Jordan, and R. de Vaux, head of the French Dominican school of archeology at Jerusalem. Although they discovered no more scrolls, they found a great many fragments of manuscripts and also pottery jars like those in which the Bedouins said that they had found the scrolls.

In the ensuing years many more caves were found. Systematic investigation by Harding and de Vaux yielded large additional quantities of manuscript fragments. In the winters of 1951-55 the same two archeologists directed the excavation of the nearby ruin, *Khirbet Qumran,* and the exploration of caves in the *Wady Qumran* and the *Wady Murabbaat.* In some of their campaigns of exploration and excavation, and in the examination of the fragments at the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem, the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem has had a part.

The contents of the scrolls and fragments from the *Wady Qumran* alone evince an extraordinary amount of activity and breadth of interest. The scrolls found in 1947

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MILLAR BURROWS, *author of* The Dead Sea Scrolls *and former Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, is Chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at Yale.*

EDWARD P. ARBEZ, *S.T.D., was for many years head of the Department of Semitic Languages at Catholic University of America.*

AMOS N. WILDER, *professor of New Testament at Harvard Divinity School, edited* Liberal Learning and Religion *and is the author of* Other Worldliness and the New Testament.

FRANK M. CROSS, JR., *is professor of Old Testament at the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.*

W. F. ALBRIGHT *has directed several archeological expeditions and is professor of Semitic Languages at Johns Hopkins.*

GUSTAVE WEIGEL, S.J., *professor at Woodstock College School of Divinity, has written* A Survey of Protestant Theology in Our Time.

WILLIAM H. BROWNLEE, *now at Duke University's Divinity School, was working at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem at the time the first scrolls were discovered and assisted in their translation.*

R. B. Y. SCOTT *of the Department of Religion at Princeton was formerly at the United Theological College in Montreal. His books include* Relevance of the Prophets.

JAMES MUILENBURG, *author of* The Literary Relations of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and the Epistle of Barnabas, *is professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages at Union Theological Seminary.*

H. L. GINSBERG *is on the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Among his writings is* Studies in Daniel.

included more or less complete copies of seven distinct manuscripts. Four of these were bought from the Bedouins by the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan Yeshue Athanasius Samuel and were later purchased from him and taken to Israel. One of them was a complete manuscript of the Old Testament book of Isaiah; another was a curious commentary on the book of Habakkuk; a third was a document now commonly known as "The Manual of Discipline." The fourth scroll has been unrolled since it was taken to Israel and has been found to contain, not an apocryphal book of Lamech as had been supposed, but a paraphrase of the book of Genesis. The other three books found in 1947 were sold by the Bedouins to the late Professor E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. They included a second manuscript of Isaiah (of later date and less complete than the first), a collection of Thanksgiving Psalms, and a book of directions for the impending final "War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness."

The fragments found when the first cave was excavated included a few broken-off bits of some of these scrolls, but there were also hundreds of fragments of other books. Altogether the cave had once contained something like 75 different books. There were pieces of manuscripts of about 10 books of the Old Testament. Special interest was aroused by fragments of Leviticus written in the Old Hebrew or Phoenician alphabet, which was used for writing Hebrew before the adoption of the square or Aramaic script, now still in use. There were also commentaries on several Old Testament books and a number of non-biblical or apocryphal writings, some of them already known in Greek or other translation but not in the original Hebrew or Aramaic, others not hitherto known at all. Still other manuscripts contained legal and liturgical texts, prayers, and hymns.

The other caves discovered later in the *Wady Qumran,* especially one designated Cave 4, contained scraps of almost all if not all of the books of the Old Testament, the one possible exception being the book of Esther. Some of these manuscripts were written in the Old Hebrew script. More apocryphal books, more manuscripts of the same works found in 1947, and more commentaries on books of the Old Testament were found too, all unfortunately represented only by small fragments. The cave numbered 3 by the excavators yielded two scrolls made of copper, which had originally been parts of a single scroll. After protracted and delicate experimentation, at least one of these has recently been unrolled in England, but at the time of this writing its contents have not been divulged.

The texts from the *Wady Murabbaat* comes from the time of the 2nd Century revolt of the Jews against the Romans. The leader of this revolt, Ben Kocheba, is named in some of them; in fact there are letters from him apparently bearing his own signature. While not without historical and philological interest, these documents are not as important as those of the *Wady Qumran.*

THE extraordinary interest which these discoveries have aroused may be attributed to several factors. The romantic thrill of such a wholly unexpected, almost incredible find is easily understood. Besides, violent controversies over the scrolls have broken out among scholars, and a good fight of any kind always attracts interested or at least amused onlookers. But the controversies arise from the inherent interest of the texts themselves and the questions raised by them. Even the spice of scandal has been added by hints that the scrolls may reveal something like a blot on the escutcheon of the Christian faith, compromising its claim to a celestial ancestry.

If the Dead Sea Scrolls are what they seem to be, they afford first-hand, contemporary evidence concerning a branch of the Jewish religion in the period when the Christian church was founded, the time when Jesus and his first disciples lived and the New Testament was written. But are these documents authentic, and are they

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really that old? These questions had to be raised, and they were raised with great vigor and insistence. Much of the controversy about the scrolls, especially before the excavations afforded conclusive archeological evidence, raged about these preliminary but essential issues. Now, however, both the authenticity and the age of the scrolls have been established.

Once it is granted that the manuscripts come from the First Century A.D. and the last two or three centuries B.C., they become important for the history of religion and culture, and even to some degree for religious faith. Much of their interest is for specialists only. The study of the history of the alphabet, for example, is greatly enriched by this abundant new material. The historical grammar of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages has much to gain from the investigation of these texts. Especially important for the understanding of the New Testament is the fact that we now for the first time have extensive texts in the Palestinian Jewish Aramaic dialect of the First Century. Most of the scrolls and fragments are in Hebrew, but about 60 Aramaic manuscripts are represented. There have been scholars who maintained that there was no Aramaic Jewish literature at that time.

Since the biblical scrolls and fragments present texts of the Old Testament more than a thousand years older than the medieval manuscripts in which the traditional text is preserved, comparison between them and the traditional text is useful both for tracing the history of the text and also, to a lesser degree, for restoring an older and better form of the text itself. This has religious significance just to the extent that it is important to get back as near as we can to the original wording of the Bible. Beyond that no theological problem is involved. None of the differences between these manuscripts and the traditional Hebrew text or the ancient versions involves a modification of the religious teaching of any book of the Bible.

Back of these technical matters, and of far wider and deeper interest, are the implications of the texts for the history of religion. To what particular branch or sect of Judaism does this literature belong? How prominent was the sect, and how much influence did it have on the subsequent history of Judaism? How closely do the ideas and practices reflected in these documents resemble those of the early Christian church? Do they provide any historical antecedents or anticipations of Christianity? Were the life and teaching of Jesus, the beliefs of the first disciples concerning him, and the faith and organization of the church directly influenced by or derived from this branch of Judaism? Apart from questions of relationship and influence, what do the scrolls contribute to a fuller and more accurate understanding of the New Testament? Such questions are widely asked about the Dead Sea Scrolls. The participants in this symposium will show how scholars are trying to answer them.

MILLAR BURROWS

WHAT IS THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

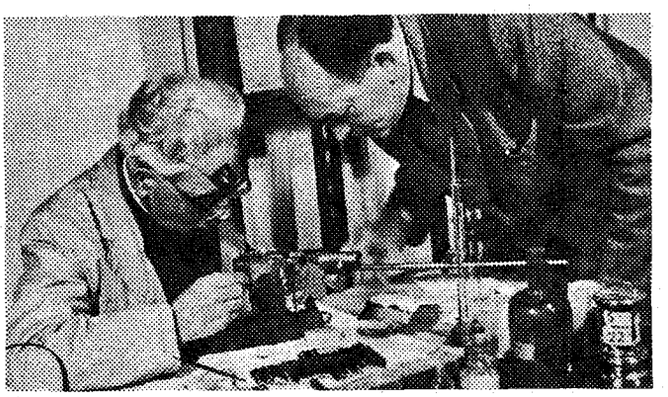
What false inferences are being drawn from the scrolls? Are the discoveries likely to change our beliefs about the text of the Old Testament, Christian doctrine, the religious practices of earliest Christian communities or the relationship of Judaism to Christianity?

"Much is still obscure"

THE FIRST news of the discovery of the scrolls in 1947 aroused considerable interest, but the texts themselves were not available to the public and studies of the texts remained limited to the specialists. The wide interest now felt in this country is due chiefly to Edmund Wilson's article in *The New Yorker,* May 14, 1955.

Mr. Wilson depends largely on Dupont-Sommer's publications, "so far the only attempt on any considerable scale to recover the lost chapter of history (the origin of Christianity), and to put it before the public." He thinks that in the light of those documents, our views must undergo radical changes: "the explanation of Jesus—as well as of Paul—in terms of preexistent factors, placing him and visualizing him in a definite historical setting, inevitably have the effect of weakening the claims of divinity that have been made for him by the Church." The same views are echoed by some reviewers of Wilson's work, and most recently by Dr. A. Powell Davies in his sketch: "The meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls."

Dupont-Sommer's publications had aroused considerable interest in France. During a vacation spent in France some years ago, a lady whose attention had been called to Dupont-Sommer's booklets by her bookseller with the remark that the Vatican was doing its best to prevent the study of the scrolls as dangerous to Catholic faith, asked me if I knew the texts and what I thought of the supposed attitude of Rome. I could only express surprise.



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If Rome was hostile to the study of the new texts, it was evident that Catholic scholars in France and other countries were not aware of that hostility, nor the bishops who approved the numerous articles and booklets on the subject. Wilson quotes Dupont-Sommer, "once an abbé" as saying that he is now *"un pur savant"*—"without any religious affiliations"—as if this could endow him with scientific objectivity.

Our ideal is and always should be to ascertain the facts, to understand them correctly and to draw the conclusions which the evidence allows. If one adopts that attitude, there is no a priori reason for fearing anything like a "revolution" in the proper sense of the word. But if one allows oneself to be carried away by imagination, then indeed anything can happen.

IT WOULD be wrong to think that the study of the scrolls is of little or no value for the New Testament. On the contrary, they are of great importance. The scrolls no doubt will help us to see more perfectly the historical surroundings in which Christianity arose: the life of the early Church, its religious atmosphere, its organization will stand out in a clearer light. We may, as the evidence may warrant, find points of contact between some of the personages of the New Testament and the religious group responsible for the scrolls: after all, the disciples did not grow out of a vacuum. The nature and extent of such possible relationship is a matter for careful consideration and appreciation. If this is done in a spirit of genuine criticism, we have no reason to expect the "cascade of revolutions" prophesied by Dupont-Sommer, compelling us to revise drastically our views of Christian origins.

The impact of the scrolls on our view of the Old Testament has not been as spectacular as had been supposed. Yet it is here, perhaps, that the value of the documents will prove more real and lasting. There are in the first place the questions of authenticity or of composition of the books of the Old Testament. Thus for instance the question of Isaiah: do the discoveries confirm the tradition of the unity of that book or do they support the modern view of different dates and authors for different parts of the book?

These were questions which Bible readers asked themselves when the news of the discovery spread. So also in the case of the Pentateuch: may we expect to find any evidence bearing on the problem of the formation of the Pentateuch? The answer to such questions is "No." So far at least there is nothing in the recent findings that proves one thing or another. At the time the copies found in the Caves were made, the books of the Old Testament had been in their present form for quite a while. To have external evidence bearing on the literary problems of the Old Testament, we should have texts older by centuries than those provided by the scrolls.

Likewise, so far nothing of the book of Esther has been found. What this means is not sure, but in any case it would be unwise to use this as a proof for the date of that book.

The new discoveries do not help us in the problem of "Higher Criticism." It is rather on questions of textual criticism that the scrolls will be of special interest. In general they confirm the antiquity of the traditional text.

There are indeed some differences between the traditional text and the scrolls, chiefly in matters of spelling and of grammatical forms, but not substantial differences of a revolutionary character. In fact, the variations are considerably fewer than those which we find between different texts of the New Testament.

But we have also in some of the scrolls evidence of more important differences from which we may conclude the existence of other forms of the text beside the one on which the traditional text is based. This is not altogether new. It was known before the recent discoveries that the ancient Greek translation—the Septuagint—made from Hebrew originals, differed in many points from the Masoretic text. The significance of these variations was explained in various ways. Some critics held that the Greek translators treated their Hebrew original rather freely. But the recent discoveries put the problem in a new light. Comparison between the Hebrew fragments referred to here and the Septuagint shows that the translators followed their Hebrew text faithfully. This means that there existed other forms of the Hebrew, and this is something important indeed for the history of the Hebrew text of the Bible. It will take time to evaluate all the new evidence, we must wait for the publication of all the texts. But from what can be seen even now, it seems clear that the new evidence will affect our views of the transmission of the Hebrew text.

MANY questions deserve the student's attention. Thus the fact that practically all the scrolls were written in Hebrew may have some significance for the New Testament. According to ancient tradition the original Gospel of St. Matthew was written in Hebrew. Many if not most authors hold that Hebrew here means Aramaic. The new finds may help to support the view that Hebrew was used by the author. We may think also of Hebrew as the original language of some parts of the Third Gospel which have a more pronounced Semitic character.

The scrolls contribute also something to the history of Hebrew, its pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, in the period just before the Christian Era.

There is also in particular the problem of the identity of the group to whom we owe those scrolls. Quite generally now they are identified as Essenes. Dupont-Sommer's arguments have convinced most writers. Still the question is not settled completely. We may use this

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identification, however, as a good working hypothesis.

Whoever they were, they were a most interesting group, not mentioned in the New Testament which mentions only the two great groups or parties: the Sadducees and the Pharisees. The scrolls thus, will contribute something valuable to the history of the New Testament age.

As I have said, the contribution of the scrolls may not be what some have supposed it to be, yet the new material cannot be ignored as meaningless. That group was deeply interested in the Bible: they read it assiduously, they copied it, they studied and interpreted it. But beside the books of the Bible, they had a number of other books in which they seem to have felt a special interest. What was the precise status of these and other such books at that time? We will have to wait for the full evidence before we can speak definitely.

If we may judge by the evidence which has come to light so far, there is nothing in the scrolls of so revolutionary a character that our views of Judaism and of Christianity will be affected in any essential way. Much is still obscure in the scrolls, and we should acknowledge the limitations of our knowledge, instead of building up sensational theories. Slow and patient work may have nothing glamorous about it, but it is the only one that will lead to solid results. The sole object of scientific study is to ascertain facts. All the rest is vanity.

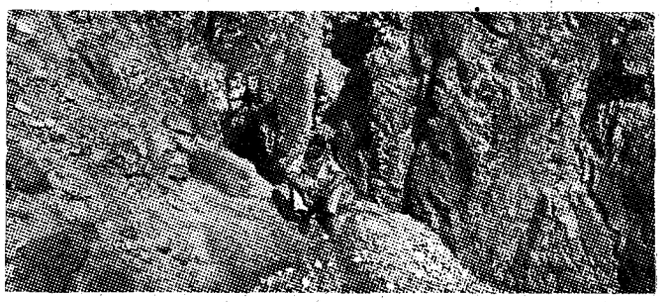
EDWARD P. ARBEZ

"Widen our picture of Judaism"

EVERY SORT of wild and even fantastic idea about the significance of the scrolls can very easily arise. This is bound to be the case in a situation where there is such a gap between the specialist and the larger public. We have analogies in other fields—whether pyramid lore, flying saucers or the question as to who wrote Shakespeare's plays. An avid and susceptible public—especially in a controversial area like religion—especially in an area where every man's opinion or revelation is as good as another's—especially if anti-intellectualism prevails—such a public is likely to pile up misunderstandings in connection with fragmentary information for which it lacks the proper context.

Post hoc, propter hoc. This oldest of logical fallacies can lead men to think that because Jesus and the early church came presumably after the Teacher of Righteousness and his sect, and because striking similarities can be identified, that therefore Christianity is "explained" or "explained away." This kind of logic is all the more dangerous since in a "hot" subject like religion there are always those ready to use any pretext as a club with which to beat an opposing party.

There is also the naïve view abroad that the distinctiveness and authority of Christianity rest upon a supposed novelty of all its ideas, terms and practices. Identify antecedents and the whole edifice collapses! Nothing illustrates better how little conception many have of Christian origins or of the meaning of revelation.



The entrance to the cave in which the scrolls were found.

Common beliefs about Christian doctrine vary. Those who identify the faith with inherited stereotypes of assent may learn something from the wide publicity given to the scrolls. It may be brought home to them that revelation is related to a context of second causes, that it is conditioned by and speaks to life where it is lived, and so be led to a sounder view of religious authority.

A quotation from Edmund Wilson is relevant here:

> It would seem an immense advantage for cultural and social intercourse—that is for civilization—that the rise of Christianity should, at last, be generally understood as simply an episode of human history rather than propagated as dogma and divine revelation. (*The Scrolls From the Dead Sea,* Page 108.)

The scrolls *do* help us to document the rise of Christianity as "an episode of human history"; and I can agree with Mr. Wilson also about "dogma" in the sense of "inherited stereotypes" referred to above. But if he asks us to understand Judaism and Christianity in terms of a mere horizontal cause-and-effect process in society he is denying their true nature. The scrolls add to our understanding of backgrounds and influences but do not revolutionize the basis of Christian doctrine. Christianity as an "episode of human history" must be seen in terms of depth as well as of horizontal links. Here the idea of revelation has its rights.

We are finding an accumulating number of side-lights in the scrolls upon the religious practices of the early church (and even more upon its ideas). Baptism, the Lord's Supper, aspects of church office and discipline, *etc.*, are illuminated. It is true that such similarities have been pointed out in analogous religious groups in similar circumstances where no direct or indirect influences are to be postulated. In the present instance, however, many of the similarities can be traced to a common origin and some of them to an at least indirect influence of the scrolls sect.

The scrolls document for us a Jewish sect dominated by the idea of the messianic age and the renewal of the

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nation. We have here an illustration of Albert Schweitzer's words: "The late Jewish Messianic world-view is the crater from which bursts forth the flame of the eternal religion of love." The scrolls widen our picture of the crisis and dilemma of Judaism in this period, and of the impulses that took various expressions to restore Israel's ancient covenant relation with God or to attain to a new covenant. This idea and spirit is common to the sect and to the followers of the Nazarene. In both Judaism and Christianity we have a profound common impulse toward true human community and personal values grounded in the historical initiatives of God.

I would like to add that a recent news report of studies of one or more unpublished texts at the University of Manchester intimate that the career of the chief figure of the scrolls sect, the Teacher of Righteousness, may have resembled the latter career of Jesus much more closely than had been agreed. It is reported that this Teacher of Righteousness was put to death, or actually crucified, and that his group looked forward to his resurrection. Confirmation of the findings and scrutiny of the texts by other workers will be awaited with interest. If the similarities to the Christian drama are established to this degree it is a matter of great historical interest. Its significance in a wider sense, however, will not be great since the goals and outlook of the two figures and their groups were so different. On the one side, a movement dominated by Jewish priestly and Levitical traditions; on the other a lay movement. On the one hand, a monastic and legalistic impulse: on the other, quite the contrary. On the one hand, a Jewish in-group preaching hatred of the opposing Jewish party; on the other, a movement with implicit universal horizons teaching the love of enemies. John the Baptist was put to death and it is evident in the New Testament that speculations with regard to his resurrection were abroad. The essential point is that the Christ-drama took hold on the central issues of the nation and the time and was wrought out at the cross-roads of history and thus became historically momentous and spiritually revelatory in a wholly incomparable way.

AMOS N. WILDER

"The Church is precisely Israel"

THE discoveries are of such importance that one can scarcely exaggerate the force of their impact on textual and historical studies related to the Bible.

About 400 manuscripts, most of them fragmentary to be sure, have been recovered; all are exceedingly ancient, varying in date between 200 B.C. and A.D. 70, and include both biblical works (about one-third of the whole) and religious documents of a Jewish community which flourished in primitive Christian times. Such a library would be of radical importance if it contained only biblical manuscripts; for these stem from an era when variant textual traditions, which were to cease in the next few centuries, were yet alive. If only its well-known Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical works were extant, it would be of immense bearing on New Testament studies, for most of these are preserved only in late editions, refracted through translations. The Qumran copies constitute the first extensive literature of this era which preserve in Hebrew and Aramaic the religious idiom of New Testament times.

But the vigorous and sweeping statements which have been issued concerning the radical character of these new data for historical studies have lent themselves, not unnaturally, to distortion and misrepresentation, especially when translated into the glaring blacks and whites of popular writing. What is "revolutionary" or "completely revises" our notions means one thing to the scholar within the framework of established theories and historical constructions developed by biblical criticism. To the layman or journalist who is acquainted vaguely at best with the body of knowledge developed by research in this field, to speak of "radical new light" on the text of the Bible, or a "revolution in our knowledge" of Christian origins means something quite different. He tends to shift from historical questions to theological questions: will the biblical text be found "true" or "false"; will Christian doctrine require changes?

IF THE statement is made that biblical scrolls give important data for the history of the Old Testament text, this often is construed to mean either (a) that the traditional text will be confirmed as accurate, or (b) repudiated in favor of the scrolls. Neither conclusion is true. The issues are wrongly conceived. The problem of establishing the primitive text of the Old Testament is not solved by accepting one manuscript, however early, over against another. Moreover, the chief value of the new scrolls for textual study is not to be found in their "new readings" as such. Our problem rather is in reconstructing the history of early texts or families of textual tradition, and their interrelations. Hitherto we have been restricted largely to one single strand of tradition which survived in the Medieval Hebrew Bible (the proto-Massoretic or received text). The scrolls give testimony not only to early forms of this line of transmission, but to parallel textual types which preserve different sets of "original readings" and corruptions.

Ideally, comparison of different families of textual tradition enable the scholar to work eclectically, reconstructing the history of readings, and thereby establishing a text which more nearly conforms to a theoretical original text than any single manuscript or textual recension. The discovery of the scrolls advances this endeavor beyond the fondest hopes of a previous generation of scholars.

Perhaps the commonest line of misunderstanding

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grows out of current debates over parallels between Essene teachings and institutions, and those of the New Testament. One example may be chosen to illustrate:

The Essenes regularly held covenant renewal festivals, in which the members of the "Community of God" entered into the (New) Covenant of the Age to Come. Again, their high sacrament was a communion meal in which the community anticipated liturgically the Messianic banquet of the Kingdom to come. Similarly, in the communion meals of the primitive church early Christians renewed through liturgical memory the New Covenant established by Jesus in his sacrifice, and at the same time celebrated by anticipation the banquet of the New Age when Jesus would return as Messianic host. Both communities believed themselves to be living "between the ages," and express this tension in their teachings and institutions.

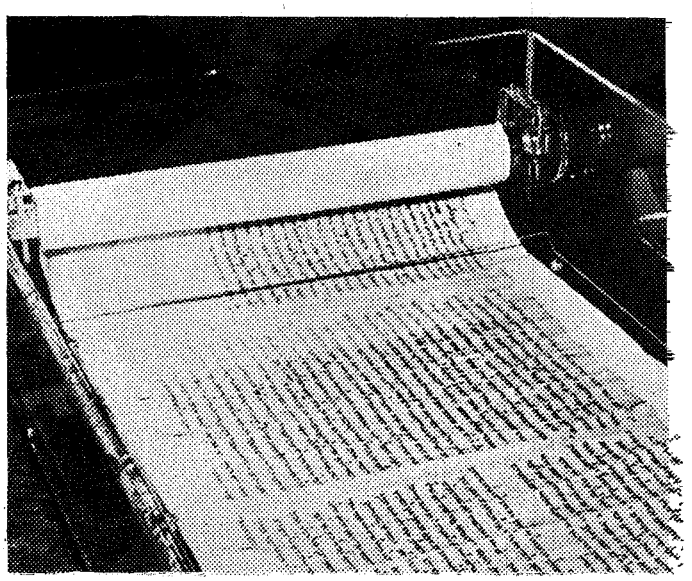
WHAT is one to make of such parallels? Naïve folk will assume that if it is shown that the Essenes anticipated a Christian institution or teaching, then it is invalidated, having lost its claim to "divine origins." Others assume that it proves that Judaism and Christianity are brought "much closer together." It would be scarcely less absurd to suppose that if one found a parallel between Fifteenth Century reform movements in Catholicism and early Protestantism, he would conclude that (a) Protestantism was invalidated, or (b) Protestantism and Catholicism are brought much closer together thereby. That is to say, Christianity understands itself as the continuation of the Old Testament faith, and the "fulfilment" of the Judaism which that faith produced. The Church is precisely Israel according to its own self understanding. No one should be surprised to find that Christianity is a Jewish sect. Who suggested otherwise? What is new is that we have gained more intimate understanding of a Jewish sectarian movement: Essenism. Hitherto we have known Judaism in its normative Pharisaic tradition. Our surprise is not that Christianity is "Jewish," but that its relationships with sectarian movements are in many ways more striking, and even more illuminating, than those with Rabbinic Judaism.

Most controversy and misunderstanding revolves around the figure of the Teacher of Righteousness. Parallels have been drawn between his career and that of the Christian master. Once again, debate over philological and historical matters has been confused with issues of dogma in the popular mind; and in this instance, the disease has spread back into scholarly discussion on occasion.

We know little about the career of the Essene teacher; he is mentioned in but a few of the sectarian works, chiefly in commentaries on fulfilled prophecies of the Old Testament. Any construction of his role in the sect is at the present stage of study by nature tentative. Among many experimental attempts to reconstruct his career from hints in the documents, two of the more exciting constructions have received most of the press coverage. One construction (of A. Dupont-Sommer) suggests that the Teacher was put to death by Aristobulus II (65-63 B.C.), returned from the dead on the occasion of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C., and in the hopes of the sect, would return as Messiah "of Aaron and Israel." New evidence, partly unpublished, plays havoc with such a synthesis. A new text certifies, in my opinion, that the Teacher and his sect suffered the persecution alluded to in the published texts during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.), as already held by Segal, de Vaux, Albright and many others, including the writer. Further, it is now well-established that the Essenes looked for two "annointed ones," an eschatological Priest, and the Davidic King (the Messiah proper). The teacher, a priest at best, would be a candidate for the Aaronid or priestly messiahship.

A second view, only recently in the headlines, also claims that the teacher was the expected Messiah; it is promulgated by one of our staff at the Palestine Archaeological Museum, John Allegro. This construction (which has yet to appear in scholarly dress) corrects the more obvious errors of the view of Dupont-Sommer; new material is utilized for its historical setting. The Teacher is crucified by Jannaeus' mercenaries along with a group of followers; he is buried (at Qumran), and the sect expectantly looks for his return as the Priest who is to appear alongside the Davidic Prince. There are difficulties. These constructions hang on a text that declares that the Teacher is to appear at the end of days, in the fulfilment of Scripture. This seems straightforward enough. However, in similar contexts, we learn that the Essenes themselves are to appear in the last days; the Romans are to appear at the end of the Age to destroy Jerusalem in fulfilment of prophecy (63 B.C.). Jannaeus flourishes in eschatological times and is predicted in Scripture. So we must understand that the sect itself is, along with its leaders, a community of the end time. Hence the key

The Manual of Discipline



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text is at best highly ambiguous. Further, and this remains no small stumbling block, no explicit reference to the Teacher's execution appears, and nowhere is he specifically named Messiah, Levitic or otherwise, either in published or unpublished material. Rather in references to his death, the passive expression, "was gathered (to his ancestors)" is used. And there are texts which seem to imply that he held no Messianic pretentions, for example: "from the day the Teacher of the Community died [was gathered], until the Messiah[s] of Aaron and Israel arise." If the sect thought their leader the priestly Messiah, they are extraordinarily vague about it all; the New Testament preoccupation with the death and Messianship of Jesus is in significant contrast.

So much for the historical debate. It can be settled only by historical and philological analysis of the texts.

What would it mean if the Teacher were martyred, and that his return in Messianic garb were an Essene doctrine? It would add another name to a considerable list of Messianic claimants, including Zerubbabel (Fifth Century B.C.), supported by two canonical prophets, and Bar Kocheba, who established himself in the second Christian century with the help of the great Rabbi Aqiba and an army of Jews. In a day when Messiahs are expected, claimants arise.

But the real question arising in people's minds is a much more general one. What bearing do parallels to Jesus' teaching and life have on the Christian faith in Jesus as the Christ? Do they challenge the uniqueness of Jesus?

It must be said at once that "uniqueness" is not a historical category. Every historical person or event is in one sense particular and unique; yet no historical event can be disentangled from its historical causes; each emerges hence is not unique. To ascribe an event to Divine action, out of its past, continuous with and dependent on it, and moreover, does not call into question, much less deny, its normal continuity with the historical past, or its origin in human action. The "uniqueness" of Jesus is a theological assertion, not a historical claim. Few Christian theologies would deny that Jesus was determined by his historical environment and free within it in the same sense that all men *properly* are. Evidently he spoke the language of Palestine, shared the world view of his people and time, held common historical, religious, and scientific assumptions, some of them palpably false. He was a son of his age. Moreover, in his own claims, he insisted on the unity of his teaching with that of his past; his work was fulfilment, not innovation; he was obsessed, not with the enunciation of abstract universal truths of "religion" old or new, but with his role in the history of redemption.

This means then that the discovery of continuities between Jesus and his past in no sense runs against the claims of Christian doctrine. They are expected, indeed are required by a Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. In short, it is quite safe to say that no new historical light from the scrolls will make the paradox of the Incarnation more or less plausible, more or less offensive.

The commotion over possible parallels between the Teacher and Jesus may easily distract attention from more serious results of scroll study. The new manuscripts will affect profoundly our interpretation of many New Testament passages. They expand our knowledge of Messianism in Judaism. They will aid us in recovering more fully the primitive meaning of Christian institutions. They will correct our historical reconstructions of the development of Judaism and early Christianity in an environment where the world of the Old Testament meets and mixes with the Hellenistic world. Indirectly these fresh insights will have a bearing on doctrinal matters; they may nuance the expression of our faith. But this is quite another thing than the notion that they will directly alter the structure of the biblical faith. After all, the Essene documents are documents of this faith, testimony to that same faith which became Christianity in the fulness of time.

FRANK M. CROSS, JR.

"Not likely to change beliefs"

In the first place, the new biblical scrolls and fragments have established the great antiquity of the consonantal text and the traditional interpretation of the Old Testament. We now know that our printed Bibles transmit a text and interpretation which nearly always go back to the last two centuries B.C. or even earlier. On the other hand, we now have a much smaller body of fragments which prove the faithfulness of the Greek (Septuagint) translation from Hebrew in the third and second centuries B.C., even where it differs from our traditional Hebrew text, as well as a few fragments which diverge from both. We must, accordingly, recognize the existence of different Hebrew recensions of Old Testament books, which can in some cases be traced back to the fourth century B.C. or earlier. In general we can confidently say that the scrolls make it increasingly difficult to date any Old Testament books except Ecclesiastes and Daniel after the Persian period (which ended cir. 330 B.C.).

It is often supposed that the scrolls throw direct light on the life of Christ, either confirming or disproving situations and events of the Gospels. This is entirely false; it is in the highest degree improbable that anything of the sort will ever be discovered.

These discoveries are not at all likely to change our common beliefs about Christianity, except that the intelligent student will become more historically minded and more inclined to interpret theological doctrines in the light of their history and their context. Existential and

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other arbitrary interpretations may become less popular.

We must now recognize as a historical fact that many religious practices of the earliest Christians of the New Testament Age were derived from corresponding practices of the Essenes. This is particularly true of the organization of the early Christian community, with a tendency toward communal property, with traces of rule by twelve selected heads and selected overseers who correspond closely to the Christian officials of the same name (bishops). Baptism and Eucharist both owe something to the Essenes, though borrowing was certainly not direct in the former case. However, the religious *function* of these practices was radically different.

In my opinion the new discoveries prove that New Testament Christianity was even more intimately related to parent Judaism than we were justifying in thinking before 1948. From the Christian point of view, the bond between Old and New Testament becomes historically indissoluble. Our common heritage is greater than a great many Christians and Jews had believed. However, the very closeness of their relationship brings out the necessary theological differences even more clearly than before. We cannot unite, but we stand or fall together in a prevailingly pagan world.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

"Revelation foreshadowed"

THE DARK hints of great upheavals which we hear when the Dead Sea Scrolls are discussed leave the theologian quite calm. Far from instilling fear in him, these scrolls give him hope that he may know more about the Scriptures, which are for him fundamental sources of data. The scrolls may (but most probably will not) be upsetting to critical editors of the biblical texts, but to the theologian they can be helpful—aids lightening a task which could have been performed without them.

One of the opportune achievements of theology during the last 40 years has been the evergrowing clarification of its method. In consequence, theology today is equipped to welcome and evaluate the Qumran scrolls in terms of their theological significance. Modern theologians, both Catholic and non-Catholic, recognize three levels in the collection of books called the Bible. The first level occupies the attention of the *historian of cultures,* for the biblical books are surviving monuments of the past. Archæology, a primary branch of the discipline of history, can be enlightened by the biblical books and can in turn shed light on them.

There is a second level of the Bible which offers subject matter to another discipline of scholarship. The *literary* structure of the Scriptures is an observable fact, and its literary genres have fairly definite rules and conventions which can be discovered by philologists. Philologists have been aided by archæologists, and the results have been solid.

Scholars working on these two levels are not formally engaged in religious work, nor is there any religious commitment involved. Most of the investigators are *de facto* religious men with definite theological allegiances, but this situation makes their work neither better nor worse, though it may have been the stimulus urging them to undertake their tasks.

There is a third level of the Bible. For a Christian or Jew the book is *revelation,* a strictly religious notion. There is today a widespread persuasion among non-Catholic divines that the books are not themselves revelation but the history of it. However, even by this theory the Bible is the locus where revelation can be met; thus the revelational depth of the Bible is the concern of the believer and the theologian.

Religion shows up in human history in a way which can be detected experimentally. A history of the empirical phenomenon of religion, therefore, is not only possible but in place. Yet such phenomena are by no means the heart of faith. Religion is the sum total of man's interior and exterior activity in terms of his ultimate concern, to borrow somewhat from the vocabulary of Paul Tillich. This concern, the very heart of religion, approaches the ultimate mystery of the universe, of life and of meaning. The last ground on which that mystery rests is God. The religious man will capitalize the word, and the non-religious man will keep it in lower case—but both reach the ground.

Christians and Jews justify their beliefs and theology by the fact that God himself revealed the truth, which they have received and in faith accept. Now no book is by itself sufficient to communicate such revelation, for that the book is revelation or the locus for it must be

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accepted independently of the book proper. A tradition will designate the book as revelatory, and without that tradition the book is just one more fact in the universe. It is the claim made for the book which envelops the book with anxious relevance and new meaning. Consequently, no believing Jew or Christian approaches the Bible in a spirit of neutral non-commitment.

Now the religious interpretation of documents is not a task immediately to be performed by the canons of historical method. Either a living normative tradition (as in Catholicism) or a freely-chosen hypothesis (as in Liberal Theology) dictates the interpretation. The result in either case will be doctrine above the level on which the historiographer works. The theologian may make observations concerning history, but it will be that dimension of history inaccessible to the historiographer working according to the rules of his craft. The theologian looks for the divine break-through latent in certain historical events. Whether or not the whale swallowed Jonah as a matter of historiographical fact is for the theologian, secondary; for the divine message contained in the Jonah story explains something in history verifiable in events to which the narrative only points.

The more the theologian knows about the sheerly historiographic dimensions of the Bible, the better equipped he is for his own task. He will not be distracted or misled by pseudo-problems. How much time was wasted in the past in calculating the age of the world from the data of Genesis! The findings of geology and paleontology finally forced the theologians to recognize what in principle they knew from the beginning: namely, that Genesis is not a source book of geology and was never meant to be one.

Besides affecting textual criticism, little or much, the scrolls certainly give us an insight into the life and thought of one sector of Judaism immediately before and after Christ, to a degree not permitted by the meagre accounts of Josephus and Philo.

HISTORICALLY, it is interesting and not at all disconcerting to find that the divine message came in the matrix of total Jewish life in Palestine, in which the ascetical communities were more important than we had generally been led to believe. Elements of the Christian revelation are thus historically foreshadowed in the thought and customs of the Essenes. Baptism, the conflict between light and darkness, righteousness, esteem of celibacy, simplicity of life, renunciation, eschatological hope, are all factors of the Good News, and in the light of the scrolls we can find exact or analogous counterparts in the teaching of the Qumran brotherhood. It certainly seems more than a coincidence that the site mentioned in the Gospel as the scene of the activity of John the Baptist is so near to the dwellings of the Qumran ascetics who, like John, were conscious of sin and led lives of penance. However, I think that by this time we are mature enough not to fall into the infantile fallacy of restating the true proposition: "John's gospel contains terms and ideas common to the ascetics," by substituting the false statement: "John's gospel is *only* an echo of the doctrine of the ascetics."

GUSTAVE WEIGEL

"The scrolls solve many enigmas"

TO SUGGEST that basic Biblical teaching could be altered by new discoveries is erroneous, for archaeological discoveries have been going on for more than a century without achieving such results. They have clarified the Bible by enlightening us as to its background, sometimes shedding new light on the meanings of words, but never altering its essential teaching.

The following conclusions may be drawn, as to the significance of the scrolls for the Old Testament.

1. The traditional Hebrew text (that used by the King James translators) will be received with more respect than it has in the hands of some radical critics, since it is substantially identical with copies from the last two centuries B. C.

2. The ancient Greek Version where its readings differ from the traditional Hebrew text will likewise be received with more respect, since Hebrew manuscripts containing the readings of the Greek Version have also been found. A few differences may have arisen from an effort to interpret the Hebrew into Greek, or to make passages theologically acceptable, or clear; but on the whole we see that those who prepared the Greek Version were following faithfully the Hebrew manuscripts that were before them. Sometimes they did not understand this Hebrew. Fortunately, we can sometimes reconstruct the Hebrew text which they had, but interpret it differently.

3. Since Hebrew manuscripts of various types (including those related to the traditional Hebrew, to the Greek, and even to the Samaritan Recension) have been discovered, textual critics will have the problem of deciding which readings are more likely to be that of the original book as written several centuries earlier than any of the manuscripts. Students of the text have always been doing this; but our resources for study are now vastly increased.

4. The final result should be a more accurate text of the Old Testament, as by scientific study we gradually reach conclusions as to the superior readings. They will not all be found in one particular type of text. Hence the study will be complicated and will require many years' labor.

5. Textual emendations (corrections based solely upon a version, or upon conjecture) will continue to be employed, but with greater caution. Their use in the past has been partly vindicated by the discovery of some of

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the conjectured readings in the recently discovered manuscripts; but they will be resorted to less frequently in the future, in view of the proved antiquity of the traditional Hebrew text.

6. The scrolls disprove any theory that the traditional Hebrew text is perfect or that the King James Version which is based upon it is perfect. They provide many examples of scribal errors in ancient time. There are hundreds of such errors in the complete Isaiah Scroll from the Second Century B. C.! We cannot assume that ancient scribes never miscopied. There is also some occasional light as to the meaning of words, which should modify our translations of the text. The judgment probably will be that the Greek text of I and II Samuel is often superior to the Hebrew text.

It is a misconception to suppose that fundamental Christian doctrine could be altered by the discoveries; for its great teachings are a part of the very warp and woof of the Bible and are not dependent upon obscure verses in isolation from the whole. What we can say is that the New Testament will be greatly enriched in meaning, especially the Gospel according to John and the Revelation of John.

It is not too much to hope that the nature of Christ's uniqueness will be better understood. It does not consist in his being utterly and radically different in all respects from all men who preceded him; but it consists rather in his standing at the apex of a line of divine revelation that culminated in him. One needs to nail down the fact that there were not 400 years of silence between the Old and New Testaments. In the first place the figure is twice too large. In the second place, the two centuries preceding Christ were very noisy centuries in which the spiritual longings and religious insights of the Jews were preparing the way for him who perfectly fulfilled them. The likenesses between some of the Essene ideas and those of the New Testament are the providential precursors of Christ's coming into the world. Divine revelation was not a static thing, with a few Messianic proof texts being written in the Old Testament, with Christ coming along centuries later to fulfill them. Rather it was a dynamic and progressive thing which lead to him, and to no other.

The Teacher of Righteousness of Qumran could declare that God raised him up to build the congregation of the true Israel, and he did (or some other on his behalf); but only Christ built a Church which could survive centuries of persecution and bring faith and hope and moral power to countless millions of every nationality and race. There are real differences in the men which explain the enduring character of the Church.

As to whether the scroll discoveries are likely to change our beliefs about the religious practices of the earlier Christian communities, I would say only that some practices may be better understood in the light of the scrolls.

Scroll in early stage of unrolling

There is considerable truth in the assertion of C. C. Torrey that "the followers of Jesus . . . had no new Messianic doctrine; that which was new was the person." How could it be otherwise, with the New Testament being founded upon the Old Testament? What the scrolls show is that some of the interpretations of the Old Testament found in the New Testament were already current among the Jews. Thus they serve to tie the Testaments together. The Qumran Scrolls solve many enigmas of those who have tried to relate primitive Christianity to Judaism, filling in areas of previous ignorance. Supposed Hellenistic, or non-Jewish, coloring in the New Testament is shown to have existed already in the Essene Judaism of Palestine.

How did the New Testament writers acquire a knowledge of Essenic ideas? To this question several answers must be given: (a) Some of these ideas were more ancient and of wider currency than the Essenes, being rooted in the old Hasidic (or pietist) movement of the Second Century B. C. (b) There were novitiates with as much as one or two years' indoctrination in Essene ideas who failed to be accepted into membership by the Qumran Community. (c) Some members were expelled from the Community according to the rules of their Manual of Discipline. These took back into Jewish society their Messianic outlook. (d) John the Baptist emerged from an Essene background. He became a very popular preacher; and through him Essene ideas were sown broadcast throughout all Palestine, as even Pharisees (perhaps including Saul of Tarsus) sought him out to learn his teaching.

WILLIAM H. BROWNLEE

"Christianity not born in a vacuum"

For the lay public to imagine that the discoveries are altogether *new in kind,* or that the foundations of Christianity are shaken by the disclosure that a pre-Christian Jewish sect had many similarities of belief and practice is a mistake. No one seriously imagines that Christianity was born in a vacuum, and many parallels

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and influences from its environment have been pointed out in the past. The Church has, in fact, resisted attempts to divorce the faith radically from its Jewish heritage.

A second fallacy is to mistake the announcement of *tentative views* put forward by individual scholars for the considered judgment of scholarship. It is far too early yet to look for a large measure of agreement on the interpretation and significance of the scrolls, though their authenticity and importance are clear. Much of the material is still unpublished, and what has been published raises more questions than it answers. Hypotheses have been proposed which have yet to be substantiated, particularly some of the more sensational claims made about anticipations of the Gospel story. We must be sure that obscurities in the texts are not being manipulated in the interests of a theory.

At the same time, some broad conclusions about the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls can be drawn at this stage, in answer to questions posed by the editor of *The New Republic*. Three main misapprehensions which may have arisen in the public mind, as a result of what has been published about these discoveries, are:

1. *That the authority of the Bible has been either confirmed or undermined because of the recovery of Old Testament manuscripts 800-1,200 years older than those from which our English Bible has been translated.*

The religious authority of the Bible resides in its testimony to the beliefs on which the Jewish and Christian religious communities are founded. This is not affected by new evidence: (a) that the text-form of the Hebrew Bible preserved in medieval manuscripts can be traced back beyond the beginning of the Christian era; (b) that, though this was already the *dominant* form, other Hebrew text-forms related to the Old Greek and Samaritan versions and differing somewhat from the text-form which has become traditional, were in use also in the first century A.D.; and (c) that (as was already known) the limits of the "canon" of authoritative scripture had not yet been settled.

The importance of the newly-found Biblical scrolls is for textual criticism, *i.e.*, the comparative study of existing manuscripts through which scholars seek to establish the original form of the text. Already it is apparent that the new evidence will be valuable particularly for the text of certain Old Testament books.

2. *That the characteristic doctrines, ethics, organization and forms of worship of Christianity were borrowed largely from the Essenes, or Qumran Covenanters;* that, (to quote Edmund Wilson), "the monastery . . . is perhaps, more than Bethlehem or Nazareth, the cradle of Christianity."

Christianity arose within, not merely alongside, the partly Hellenized Judaism of Palestine in the first century. John the Baptist, Jesus and Paul were Jews, and the first Christian community regarded itself as a sect or movement within the Jewish religious community. It shared with the Qumran covenanters—another such sect or movement—both the national religious inheritance and a particular concern with the fulfillment of Old Testament promises of a Messianic age.

The similarities between the two movements are striking and mutually illuminating. They may be due to parallel developments of a common tradition in a shared environment. They may also point to the acceptance by the first Christians of some beliefs and practices of the Covenanters which were congenial to their own faith.

CHRISTIANITY has never claimed to be discontinuous with the antecedent faith of Judaism, which we now understand better as a result of the discovery of the scrolls. Jesus received baptism at the hands of John the Baptist. John seems to have stood close to—and may even once have belonged to—the Qumran community. Jesus asserted that he came "not to destroy but to fulfill." The *distinctiveness* of Christianity lay in its assertion that Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, was in fact the Messiah with whom the New Age had dawned; that he became the Savior of men by dying for their sins; that he was not overcome by death, but continued to be present with his followers.

3. *That the uniqueness of Jesus Christ can no longer be claimed, since his career apparently was anticipated by that of the Qumran Covenanters' "Teacher of Righteousness."*

Dupont-Sommer has put this dramatically by saying that "the Galilean Master . . . appears in many respects as an astonishing reincarnation of the Teacher of Righteousness." He points to similarities in the teachings of love, humility and chastity; to reverence for the Law of Moses, coupled with new revelations to the Teacher; to the hostility of the Jerusalem priesthood which resulted in his persecution and death; to his founding of a church of the "new covenant." As an additional parallel, Allegro has declared, on the basis of an unpublished manuscript, that the Teacher was handed over by Alexander Jannaeus to Gentile mercenaries to be crucified.

These resemblances are striking, but by no means as disconcerting to Christian scholars as Edmund Wilson would have us believe. When Dupont-Sommer goes farther and claims that the Teacher was represented also as "the Elect and Messiah of God, the Messiah Redeemer of the world," who "at the end of time . . . will be the supreme judge," he is forcing an improbable interpretation on texts of uncertain meaning, and even on texts which pretty certainly mean something else. When, for example, the Teacher is said to have suffered "vengeance in his body of flesh," Dupont-Sommer comments: "without doubt he was a divine being who 'became flesh' to live and die as a man." Other interpretations have foundations equally flimsy. Dupont-Sommer later admits that

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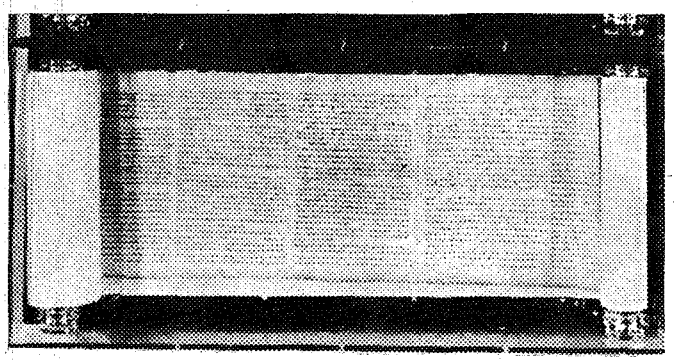

Scroll sealed in glass

he had merely "sketched out a rapid parallel which was intended to stimulate the curiosity of the reader." He adds in a footnote: "The author in no way wishes to deny the originality of the Christian religion. He has here noted the resemblances, but differences also clearly exist."

The differences, indeed, are radical. The Covenanters' Teacher of Righteousness made no claim to stand in a unique relationship of sonship to God. His martyrdom was not voluntary, nor does he suggest that it was a vicarious death for the sins of men. His followers did not proclaim that he had overcome death and was present in their midst in the power of his spirit. In short, these events, in which Christians believe that God acted for the salvation of mankind and which constitute the Gospel of the New Testament, have no *essential* counterpart in what is known to date concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls.

R. B. Y. Scott

"The danger of excessive claims"

It is precarious to assume that the early date of the Dead Sea Scrolls necessarily implies a textual tradition superior to that of our present Hebrew (Masoretic) text. By and large this is by no means the case. Each textual witness must be examined independently, for there is great diversity among the scrolls. But even where the scroll texts are in general inferior, they may preserve ancient readings here and there which merit serious consideration.

It is erroneous to assume that the affinities with the New Testament writings are unique. We have a substantial literature of non-biblical writings from the period in which the scrolls were written, and many of these have parallels quite as close as anything which the scrolls have thus far produced. In this connection, it might also be pointed out that the Old Testament itself has many similarities to New Testament passages. These should always be taken into account when the matter of affinities is discussed.

If the community living on the western shore of the Dead Sea were the Essenes, as seems probable, then we have long had considerable information concerning it. Pliny, the Roman historian, seems to refer to this sect, and Flavius Josephus in his *Wars* describes it at length as does Philo of Alexandria in several of his works. Scholars of a generation or two ago wrote a great deal about the Essenes, and many of their conclusions parallel very closely much of what is now being written (see, *e.g.*, the article on the Essenes in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* or the recently re-published work of C. D. Ginsburg on the sect).

As to how these discoveries are likely to change our common beliefs about the text of the Old Testament, in general, we may say that they will inspire greater respect for the trustworthiness of our present Hebrew text. We now have evidence of a masoretic tradition long before the rabbinic recension at the close of the First Century of the Christian era. As was suggested above, the textual situation is by no means uniform or consistent, but the close approximation to our present Hebrew text is a fact of considerable importance.

I doubt whether the discovery of the scrolls will affect in any way the nature of Christian doctrine. Historical antecedents, far from qualifying or altering the content of Christian doctrine, provide it with historical background and rootage, which is illuminating for its understanding. What is unique in Christian faith is by no means affected by any discoveries thus far published.

The most important of the religious practices of the Dead Sea communities relevant to this discussion are the washings or ablutions, which have been compared to the early Christian rite of baptism, and the celebration of a sacred meal. Whether such rites were unique with the Essenes we cannot say, since there were many sects in the Judaism of the period. But assuming that they were characteristic only of the Essenes, there is no reason whatsoever for thinking that they will in any way affect common beliefs about them, unless, of course, it will make the layman more aware of the background out of which the early Christian community emerged.

If there are any direct relationships between the Essenes and the followers of Jesus, it must be borne in mind that we are concerned here with a sect. That Christianity emerged from a Jewish background is known to everyone, but it is possible that the many affinities which have been adduced may call attention to the degree of kinship between sectarian Judaism and the founders of the Christian movement.

We are still in the early stages of our study of the scrolls. It is too soon to reach final conclusions on many questions. Even the major scrolls of Cave 1 have not all been examined in a thorough way. Very few of the vast quantity of scroll fragments have so far been published. There is the danger, on the one hand, of making excessive claims concerning the importance of

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the scrolls and to neglect the rest of the intertestamental literature. It cannot be questioned that there are important similarities, but these must be seen in their total context. On the other hand, it is almost as precarious to minimize the significance of the scrolls or to refuse to take cognizance of what they are revealing.

JAMES MUILENBURG

"Exciting for Jewish scholarship"

IT IS NOW generally known that the Dead Sea Scrolls include copies, or parts of copies, of all the books of the Hebrew Bible except Esther, and that these copies are a thousand years older than any manuscript of any extensive portion of the Hebrew Bible which was previously known. It is also known that the scrolls include the lost Hebrew and Aramaic originals of such extracanonical books as Tobit, Enoch and Jubilees. And finally, it has become a commonplace that the scrolls include collections of the rules and portions of the liturgy of an ancient Jewish sect which is certainly akin to and may be identical with that which Philo, Josephus, and Pliny the Elder designate as the Essenes.

Even more exciting, at least for Jewish scholarship, is the discovery of a series of commentaries of a peculiar sort on various books of the Hebrew Canon. These commentaries have no interest whatever in explaining rare or obsolete words or grammatical forms and constructions, or in filling in the background so as to place the reader as nearly as possible in the position of the biblical author's contemporaries, who knew what he was referring to. All these expositions are concerned with is showing that the Prophets, and even the Psalms, consist of little more than predictions about "the end of the days," and that "the end of the days" is the time in which the expositor and his readers are living. Such "actualizations" of ancient oracles abound in the New Testament and are basic to Christianity; and it is suggestive that the early Christians, like the scroll sectarians, were a persecuted minority. A more or less persecuted minority of our time, Jehovah's Witnesses, similarly interpret many of the prophecies in the Scriptures as alluding to events of the Twentieth Century, in which they expect to witness the climax of history. The oldest known example of such "end of days" exegesis is the following: in the year 165, during Antiochus IV's attempt to eradicate Judaism, the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah—and Balaam—were similarly interpreted by the persecuted as referring to that persecution and as promising that it would have a happy ending; and these reinterpretations have been embodied in the Bible itself, namely, in the Book of Daniel.

The Dead Sea Scroll sect, however, was not content merely to reinterpret the old prophecies so as to find a message of comfort for its own day. Not the least remarkable of these writings is one which is known as the Scroll of the War of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness. It is an apocalypse of the breaking of the power of the heathen, primarily the hated Romans, over the Jewish people. It envisages this liberation as carried out by an army of men of the sect equipped with the armament and employing the formations and tactics of the age of the emperor Augustus. This document was probably composed around the year 20 B.C. The existence of such extravagant visions is no doubt one of the reasons why official Judaism frowned on non-canonical literature when the debacles of the years 70 and 135 A.D. (the fall of Jerusalem and the collapse of the Bar Kocheba rebellion respectively) caused it to despair of an early recovery of national independence by direct action, and to fall back on hopes of an entirely miraculous deliverance in an indefinite future.

Among many other points of interest in the Bible texts, Jewish scholarship is particularly interested in the occasional occurrence of a reading which differs from that of our Hebrew Bible but was demonstrably present in Bible texts employed in Orthodox Jewish circles in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

IN THE basic purpose of its organization and in its rules and procedures of admission and expulsion, as also in the terminology connected with these, the scrolls sect exhibits striking resemblances to the early Pharisaic *haburoth*, or associations of strict observers of the laws of ritual purity. On the other hand, a number of the sect's practices, such as the avoidance of the ineffable name of the Lord in benedictions, are mentioned in the rabbinic sources only to be stigmatized as heretical.

The scroll discoveries also furnish an explanation for the existence of a strange sectarian document found among the deposits in the *Genizah* (repository for discarded Hebrew writings) in the synagogue of Old Cairo. The caves have yielded a copy of that very document, as well as of many others resembling it remarkably in language and outlook; and the Karaites, of whom there was a large community in Cairo, claimed to possess writings of an ancient sect, which writings too had been found in a cave.

A footnote should be added: though copies were found in the caves of every other book of the Old Testament, and in most cases more than one copy of each, no copy of the Book of Esther has appeared to date. There are reasons for dating its composition as late as around the year 100 B.C., and the Palestinian Talmud has preserved a reminiscence of hesitation on the part of the Palestinian Jews to adopt this book and the festival of *Purim* whose observance it enjoins. Unless a piece of Esther scroll turns up in one of the caves at a future date, we must conclude that the scroll sect never overcame that hesitation.

H. L. GINSBERG

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Evil Conspiracy against General MacArthur

by Richard H. Rovere

No living American is so hopelessly addicted to the conspiracy theory of history as General of the Army MacArthur. Alongside him, the Vice-President and Senator McCarthy are triflers. Each has done his share to make the doctrine fashionable, but there is no reason to suppose that either takes it with any real seriousness. It has been a gimmick for Nixon, a gambit for McCarthy. Neither is an authentically dedicated spirit. Senator James Eastland appears to belong with them rather than with MacArthur. He has carried the theory to new heights with his assertions

MacArthur: His Rendezvous with History, by Major-General Courtney Whitney (Knopf; $6.95).

that the Supreme Court has been brainwashed by radicals and that "left-wing pressure groups are in control of the government of the United States," but while Eastland is a fanatical white-supremacist, the very scope of his charges seems to reveal an essential frivolity about the conspiracy theory. This judgment may be subject to revision when and if Senator Eastland conducts an investigation of MacArthur's claim that his recall by President Truman in 1951 was part of a global plot in which the British traitors, Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, were the central figures, but as of now Eastland appears to stand with those who use the conspiracy theory as a good thing, not as the key to history.

Of MacArthur's earnestness, though, there can be no doubt. He is a True Believer—and not a rank-and-file one but a commander, egocentric, messianic, *entête,* a True Believer in himself. Like others of the breed, he finds it necessary to ascribe his disappointments, which have been numerous, to base intrigue by the powers of darkness. In his melancholy universe, there is no purely personal guilt; evil always has its cabalistic aspect. There is no such thing as pure malice or spite; there is malice aplenty, but it can never be pure—it is always in the service of, or somehow compounded by, dark, complex contrivances. Thus, when he describes his recall as "a vengeful reprisal," as he did in his recent response to Harry Truman's reminiscences of the Korean War, he cannot let the matter drop there, for with this characterization of the act he is only on the outer surface of the truth as he knows it. He had been aware from the start, he says, that "the disease of power was coursing through [Truman's] veins," but this, for MacArthur, was not enough to know. A "vengeful reprisal" by a power-mad President is not in and of itself a conspiracy. "Quite apart from what Mr. Truman has to say in his memoirs," MacArthur writes, "I had searched in vain for some logical explanation for my abrupt relief from command in the Far East." A "logical explanation" must be one in which malevolent design is apparent. "It was not," he says, "until the recent exposure of the British spies, Burgess and Maclean, that the true facts began to unfold."

Senator Eastland has said that he intends to unfold these true facts for us as they have unfolded themselves for MacArthur, and perhaps, now that he is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he will do so soon. Meanwhile, there is some fascinating material on earlier conspiracies against MacArthur in the *ex cathedra* book, *MacArthur: His Rendezvous with History,* by Major-General Courtney Whitney. Whitney is a former Manila lawyer with whom MacArthur formed an enduring friendship almost twenty years ago; he has been at MacArthur's side in one capacity or another from the Lingayen Gulf to the Waldorf Towers and in spite of resourceful competition from Major-General Charles Willoughby, MacArthur's intelligence chief for many years, has never had to relinquish his position as first among the sycophants. Of him MacArthur says:

> I know of no one better qualified than he intelligently to discuss . . . my role in the stirring events which have encompassed the Far East since the start of World War II. . . . [His] actual participation in the events and his intimate knowledge of the concepts underlying my actions cannot fail to ensure the historical accuracy and corresponding value of his work.

He might have added that Whitney is blessed with a humility that leads him to scoot offstage whenever it is possible to let MacArthur make his own speeches. The book consists largely of documents — reports, memoranda, letters, wise sayings, public speeches—by the rendezvouser himself and may be considered, as Hanson Baldwin has pointed out, MacArthur's valedictory and apologia. Whether MacArthur is speaking or being echoed by Whitney the book is illuminated throughout by the view that not only the Far East but the world in general since 1940 has been the stage for a titanic conflict between Douglas MacArthur and Satan in manifold disguises.

On page 5, we are advised that Frank Murphy, who in 1941 was High Commissioner of the Philippines, "betrayed his jealousy of MacArthur's stature in the islands by initiating a personal campaign of pressure on President Roosevelt to cause the General's removal." The pressure was effective. MacArthur was retired with an "accolade" from Roosevelt. "But accolades did not prevent MacArthur from being sniped at." Of course they didn't. Mephisto never sleeps. The consequences of Murphy's jealousy and the subsequent sniping were enormous—American unpreparedness, Pearl Harbor, the loss of the Philippines, the triumph of perfidy in Washington, all the bloodletting from the Banda Sea to the Osumi Straits. From 1941 on, life was just one betrayal of jealousy after another. Down they all go—all the large figures of the epoch: Roosevelt, Marshall, Eisenhower, King, Truman, Bradley, to name only the principal American traducers. And with them fall innumerable smaller fig-

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ures—lieutenants of the jealous ones, devils' disciples, chore boys in such institutional conspiracies against MacArthur as the United States Navy, the British Empire, the United Nations, "the anti-MacArthur coterie in the State Department," and the Communist Party, which, we are told, was planning a public hanging of MacArthur on the Capitol steps as long ago as 1932.

In the end, the entire United States is made to seem an instrument for bringing misery into the life of Douglas MacArthur. At first it is only the politicians who frustrate his grand designs ("Even in those early days . . . US officials had harassed him. . . . He was being sacrificed in Washington") but after a time the plots thicken, and we are all in some measure held responsible for "the humiliation that seared his soul." There is some justice in this dreadful world, though; for this "foul and shocking blow," we are being suitably repaid in kind. "Ever since the removal of MacArthur from a position of influence in Asia, Communism has progressively strengthened and become an increasingly powerful threat to freedom and peace."

THERE is authentic tragedy here as well as high comedy, for the truth of the matter is that there *are* elements of greatness in Douglas MacArthur. He has served his country as a valorous and resourceful captain and as a gifted proconsul. He has at times borne himself with splendor and shown himself capable of commanding intense loyalties. One gets a sense of greatness even from Whitney's preposterous book; here a basically cloddish mind is moved to imagination ("This, I thought, must have been what it was like in a tent in Gaul with Caesar; on the approaches to Cannae with Hannibal; on the plains before Gaugamela with Alexander the Great . . .") and to massive recrimination by the spectacle of his subject's triumphs and misfortunes.

Indeed a distinction that one cannot take lightly is the very concern with policy that has led him into so many difficulties. Whether MacArthur is sensible or not in his political avouchments, he has never been a time-server, he has never been indifferent to the aims of the government he has served. Liberals who have applauded the independence and the concern with policy of officers like Billy Mitchell and Charles de Gaulle have been a good deal too facile in condemning MacArthur for insubordination which consisted in the main of taking his case to the public. What was wrong was not so much his public contentiousness as the case itself, the strategy he favored. Robert Clive was similarly wrong, and so was Gordon of Khartoum. There is in MacArthur, as there was in them, something of the "heaven-born general," to use Pitt's phrase for Clive, another prodigy, mystic, orator, and empire-builder.

YET MacArthur, principally through his commitment to the conspiracy theory, insists on making himself ridiculous. Now, on top of the Whitney book, with its abundance of plots, he has come up with the super-plot, involving Burgess and Maclean, and such is his prestige and the hunger of our radicals of the right for conspiracies that the story threatens to become riveted into the history of the period.

To David Lawrence and to his *U.S. News and World Report*, part of the matter is already beyond dispute: "It was these two men," *U. S. News* has said, "who helped to trigger the invasion by armies of Communist China at the moment of defeat for Soviet-armed North Koreans." This is MacArthur's basic contention—that the Chinese entered the war because they had been assured by Burgess and Maclean that we would engage them nowhere but in Korea. His second proposition is that it was a reluctance to reveal the truth about Burgess and Maclean that led to his removal by President Truman on April 11, 1951. The editors of *Life* have regarded this as a plausible version of history, and the editors of the *National Review* find so much political promise in it that they wish to have it investigated not by a mere committee, such as Senator Eastland's, but by a "mixed commission . . . with members from Congress, the Administration, and the public."

It is characteristic of the mind in the grip of the conspiracy theory that it marshals argument untidily. Those who credit the new MacArthur story must do so either by faith in MacArthur himself or through a shared addiction to the theory. MacArthur is the only man who has even made a stab at finding logic in it or imposing logic upon it, and his facility with the syllogism is far from all it might be. To accompany him even part of the way, one must concede that the Peiping government in 1950 was by one means or another being made privy to the discussions of American policy in the National Security Council and to the decisions emerging from those discussions. MacArthur has no difficulty in making this assumption, for to him it is logical to assume that the Chinese Communists would never have been foolish enough to engage him in battle if they had not had "definite advance information that my hands would be tied."

> Only [he writes] if he were certain that we would continue to protect his bases and supply lines would a commander have dared to throw the full weight of the Chinese army into Korea.

To some of us, it may appear that a Communist leader who accepted "definite advance information" on American policy, which has been so constantly subject to change, would be well along on the road to lunacy. If anyone even contemplates making war on the United States, the beginning of wisdom is the realization that there is no such thing as "definite advance information" on our behavior.

But MacArthur thinks otherwise, and so, taking for granted that the Chinese had received the necessary assurances, he thinks it necessary only to uncover the "links in the chain to our enemy in Korea through Peiping by way of Moscow." Why through Moscow? Why not direct to Peiping or perhaps, as some people believed a few years back, by way of London or New Delhi? This is not explained except as a matter of firm conviction:

> I myself have long been convinced that Red China's decision to commit its forces to the Korean peninsula was predicated upon assurances previously given through Moscow that such intervention would not precipitate retaliation against its attack bases.

NOW to get Burgess and Maclean into the act: MacArthur makes a breathtaking leap from the enemy's knowledge of what was happening in Washington to his knowledge of what was going to happen in Korea. In making this jump, MacArthur is aided by a certainty about his own behavior that others cannot feel. In theory, of course, what was happening in Washington should have been a

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reliable guide to what the American forces were going to do in Korea. But a great many Americans and practically all Europeans had the feeling that perhaps one decision would be taken by President Truman and his advisers and quite another by General MacArthur. But MacArthur thinks everyone should have known better — in the Whitney book, the notion that MacArthur was ever at any time insubordinate to civil authority is treated as too absurd to discuss—and that the Chinese certainly knew better. Someone had tipped them off. It now appears to have been Burgess and Maclean. How do we know? How, for that matter, did Burgess and Maclean know? MacArthur constructs what passes for a syllogism in the conspiracy school. "General Walker," he says, "complained constantly to me that the enemy was receiving prior information of his movements." If this were true, it would seem to suggest good intelligence work behind the United Nations lines—and since Communists were plentiful in North Korea, one would assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that this was the explanation. MacArthur says it wasn't. "We could find no leaks in Korea or Japan." . . . "Then suddenly one of my dispatches concerning the order of battle was published in a Washington paper within a few hours of its receipt." He does not identify either the dispatch or the newspaper that printed it. He merely says: "I insisted that those responsible be prosecuted."

PROSECUTED for what? The Whitney book throws some light on this mystery. It identifies the offending paper as the Washington *Post* and explains that "on December 30, 1950 . . . one of MacArthur's top-secret dispatches to Washington giving intelligence on the order of battle was in part published verbatim . . . under the byline of a prominent columnist." A check of the Washington *Post* of that date reveals that the columnist was Drew Pearson, whose work appears in a great many other newspapers, and that Pearson that day published part of what purported to be a report from MacArthur's intelligence section dated December 6, 1950. MacArthur's "few hours" turn out to be approximately five-hundred and seventy-six, and it was not exactly one of his "dispatches concerning the order of battle" but, on the contrary, a dispatch from General Willoughby discussing the *Chinese* order of battle. But this is quibbling: there was a leak, rather a slow one, and someone was responsible. Who? Burgess and Maclean clearly. How come? "If they did not report to their Kremlin masters fully upon our secrets in the conduct of the war against the Communists in Korea," MacArthur says, "what then could have been their treasonable purpose?" What indeed? Any good Communist spy would report anything he knew about the Korean war. But would he report to Drew Pearson? Was Pearson one of Burgess' and Maclean's Kremlin masters? This is not gone into—nor does MacArthur cast any light on the question of how Burgess and Maclean learned what was going on in the National Security Council. Probably there was a British spy in there somewhere.

MacArthur, incidentally, writes as if Burgess and Maclean were both in Washington at the time of the Chinese intervention. Maclean was in the Foreign Office in London; he had become head of the American desk on November 6, 1950, and no doubt he was receiving some intelligence and some highly educated guesses about American policy. Burgess was in fact in Washington. But it is doubtful if he was getting transcripts of NSC proceedings within a matter of hours, and it is unlikely that he was being told the outcome of discussions that had no outcome. The truth is that on December 6 1950, we had no settled policy on what we would do on the Yalu. After all we once had a policy in which Korea was held to be outside our defense perimeter. When the Thirty-eighth Parallel was breached, we reversed it. That is the way things go in the real world and if the Chinese Communists, having seen us throw one policy decision to the winds, placed confidence in another their sense of reality could not have been as formidable as most of us assumed it to be. They might have found the reports from Burgess and Maclean interesting—provided there were any such reports—but they would have been mighty foolish Communists to base their own policy wholly on such reports.

THE Pearson incident is the central one in MacArthur's rendering of the history of 1950 and 1951. It proves retroactively, that Burgess and Maclean told the Chinese they would have a romp if they entered the war. They told Drew Pearson, *ergo* they told Mao Tse tung. And it reveals, finally, the reason for MacArthur's dismissal. MacArthur explains when he could find "no leak" in his own theatre, he promptly recommended that "a treason trial be initiated to break up [the] spy ring responsible for the purloining of my top-secret reports to Washington." And he goes on: "I believe that my demand that this situation be exposed, coming after the Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White scandals, caused the deepest resentment. [The] case was never processed, and I was shortly relieved of my command." And that is that.

Of such stuff is General MacArthur's plot made. Senator Eastland says he will investigate it. It could be a fascinating investigation.

"The best of the growing number of books on the scrolls"

The DEAD SEA SCROLLS

by MILLAR BURROWS
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THEATRE

A Directly Sensuous Pleasure

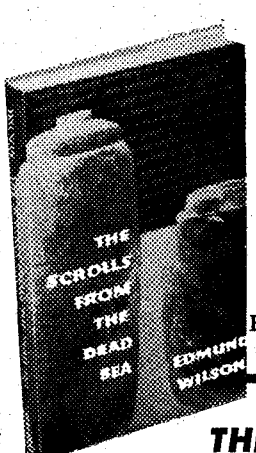
THE existence of *My Fair Lady* would be fully justified even if the new musical were only a showcase for its three leading performers: Rex Harrison, Stanley Holloway, and Julie Andrews. To say that Mr. Harrison "makes the adjustment" to musical comedy is to understate the case. The fact is that only musical comedy permits him to show what he can do without inviting him to attempt what he cannot do. In his serious roles, like Henry VIII or the leading man of *The Love of Four Colonels,* Mr. Harrison tried to make up in huffy pretention for what his characterization lacked in substance. In *My Fair Lady,* he provides just as much characterization as musical comedy can stand (and in fact is one of the few actors not to underplay Higgins' illnature) while at the same time proving equal to the special and extra demands of the genre, notably the ability to perform the songs. I say perform, because, in this genre, it is no earthly use to be able to sing and not perform a song, while if you can perform a song, without being able to sing it, all criticism of your musicianship is beside the point. Mr. Harrison speaks and acts his songs admirably.

"Musical comedy" is a misnomer because, actually, its tradition is less comic than sentimental. Though it seems to have driven vaudeville out of business, it has not taken over the comedians, who, after all, were the chief glory of the older form. It is a great and exceptional thing when a musical features Bert Lahr or a Phil Silvers, and I for one particularly welcome the introduction to the genre of Stanley Holloway who plays Doolittle. Mr. Holloway brings with him the atmosphere of the old music hall, and Messrs. Lerner and Loewe have risen to the occasion by capturing that atmosphere in the two numbers they have assigned to Mr. Holloway, "With a Little Bit" and "Get Me to the Church on Time." Very much of the old and true tradition is the way in which Mr. Holloway, when he sings, holds his trousers in front as if they were skirts. Loud, gusty, and full-blooded, he is at the same time ironic, precise, and almost dainty.

It is a star's job to twinkle, and even more than they are actors, the three stars of this show are personalities of quite extraordinary radiance. Almost any nice smile, these days, is called winning, but Julie Andrews' smile beats everything; it is lucky for Eisenhower that Miss Andrews is British and can't run against him in November. And, except with Cheshire cats, a smile is no isolated mechanism, but an index to the soul. Miss Andrews has a very pretty soul, and in her simplicity, which can impose itself without any super-imposed glamour, there is the real glamour which is of the essence of theatre. She also fits exquisitely into the pattern of the show, offsetting Mr. Harrison's unmusicality with a tuneful voice, and Mr. Holloway's robustiousness with a natural delicacy. If she is not quite able to bring off the final *coup* of the role of Eliza—the achievement of independence in the last act of Shaw's play—that is only because Messrs. Lerner and Loewe haven't given her the chance.

OUGHT they to have? The query leads to a discussion of the whole undertaking. Unless we deny the initial premise—that a Broadway musical can and should be made from *Pygmalion*—it may be impossible not to grant Lerner and Loewe all the inferences they have drawn. But actually there is only one change I seriously jib at: the utter sentimentalizing of the end. Shaw reluctantly allowed Mrs. Campbell to end the play with a hint that all was not over between Eliza and Higgins, and, in the movie, Pascal had Wendy Hiller follow Mrs. Campbell's precedent. In *My Fair Lady,* what had been a hint stuck on at the end becomes the main theme of the second half of the show and involves having Higgins turn into the standard leading man of musical comedy and at that as cornily love-lorn as they come. Even earlier in the evening Higgins painstakingly explains that he's "an ordinary man" in order to remove the difficulty which the ordinary man of New York in 1956 might have in identifying himself with a British genius of a phonetician, vintage 1912. It has been assumed, I take it, that a musical comedy has to present the meeting and mating of the common man with the common woman. The assumption can be questioned. And it is certainly true that the second half of the show — the part invented by Messrs. Lerner and Loewe in honor of the common man—is far inferior to the first half; it is one long anti-climax rendered tolerable only by the musical numbers.

Even of the first half, it cannot be said that the new material has been perfectly fused with the old, for Mr. Lerner's writing is on one plane, and Bernard Shaw's is on another. Anyone familiar with the Shavian text, and fond of it, is bound to feel jolted from time to time. On the other hand Mr. Lerner has been shrewd enough to be reverential. A vast amount of Shaw's dialogue has been retained. And, since the non-Shavian words, except for a couple of corny love songs, do not fall below Shaw as far as they rise above the average musical comedy, one could easily be so impressed by the latter fact as to overlook or forgive the former. Mr. Loewe's music and Hanya Holm's



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choreography are also something distinctly better than "in good taste." Oliver Smith (sets) and Cecil Beaton (costumes) have shared the general respect for the Shavian original while cooperating in the creation of a musical comedy variant. (I have only one quarrel with Mr. Beaton: I believe that clothes exist to show off women, and not vice versa.)

THOUGH I have questioned one of the adaptors' evident assumptions, I am not questioning the necessity of all changes, even all drastic ones. The introduction of music of itself gives a play not only a different frame but a different atmosphere. Music constitutes a different order of experience, and musical comedy creates a world of its own—most characteristically, I believe, a Never Never Land of fantasy. Reviewing *Porgy and Bess*, I pointed out how, at the hands of Gershwin, Dubose Heyward's realistic document became a fairy tale. As it happens, Shaw took his story from legend in the first place; in *My Fair Lady* it goes back where it came from. A lot of the immediate pleasure which the show so abundantly provides derived from the fairy-tale charm and nostalgia created by the ensemble of stage design, costumes, choreography, music, and actors' personalities (credit for the masterly co-ordination of these elements going to the director, Moss Hart.)

Theatre is more of a directly sensuous pleasure than theatre criticism would suggest, and it is therefore proper to stress that, for all the flaws that may reveal themselves to analysis, this show presents to the senses an appearance of flawlessness and touching beauty. Undoubtedly, this is the kind of thing Broadway does best, and undoubtedly Broadway has acted, in this instance, with a degree of restraint, and even positive taste, for which it is not yet famous. One can bestow upon *My Fair Lady* ungrudging, if not unqualified, praise.

ERIC BENTLEY

Notes on Contributors

RICHARD ROVERE'S new book, *The Eisenhower Years*, will be published this month. JAMES T. FARRELL'S newest book is a collection of stories, *French Girls Are Vicious*.

TELEVISION

Please Pass the Catsup

AN unregenerate consumer of Catsup, I turned on my television one Sunday afternoon and saw a film which recounts the romantic adventures of Captain Gallant of the French Foreign Legion. This weekly feature is produced in co-operation with the French government and is sponsored by a well-known company which sells Catsup, not to mention many varieties.

Catsup? The Catsup is made from the most wonderful tomatoes in, perhaps, the entire world. Each and every one of these California tomatoes is special. They are used to make Catsup. And the purchase of this Catsup will certainly please Captain Gallant; for he is dedicated to encouraging others to become what I have been for years—a Catsup lover.

Anyway, the film I saw on a late Sunday afternoon concerned the search for a recruit who failed to report for duty. The Captain, along with a sergeant, was sent out to search for him. Accompanying these two was a little boy who lives at the barracks. The recruit, himself capable of becoming a Captain Gallant someday, has disappeared. One clue leads to the next—there is a lady and another lady, and an American. The natives are there, too.

What is behind all this mystery? The night before he was to report for duty in the Foreign Legion our missing recruit celebrated. In his jacket coat-pocket was the map of a mine which would be a source of wealth. Plotters seized the recruit and took him to a house in the desert. There, they tied him up and tried to force him to tell them where the map was. He wouldn't talk. But Captain Gallant is not far behind. He enters the den of the bad men, alone. The Captain has the draw; then they ge *him*; punches are thrown; the sergean turns up in the nick of time; the map i found. And then—buy Catsup.

Oh shades of Beau Geste! I thought as I sat in my living room. Oh, my los boyhood with its silent films about th noble soldier of the Foreign Legion How I regretted my lost youth. An how I regretted the fact that I read news papers; for the newspapers are carryin the most alarming accounts of trouble i Morocco, Algiers and Tunisia, and th gallant French Foreign Legion is havin troubles quite different from those o *Captain Gallant*.

Now, there are brave fighting me in the Foreign Legion, and I seek no to discredit them. But in the light o what is virtually a cataclysm of contem porary history, I keep wondering wh dreamed up Captain Gallant? Does n one connected with producing this sho read newspapers? And if they do, ho come they fail to realize the preposter ousness of this film in 1956? And wha might happen if some Tass reporter o an Arab journalist, should make m mistake on a late Sunday afternoon, an tune in on *Captain Gallant*?

Couldn't Captain Gallant be gallan elsewhere? Might he not emigrate with out a decline in the sales of Catsup After all, the Catsup would be the same And the tomatoes from which th Catsup is made will be no less specia than they now are. Is there not roo for plots, intrigues, rescues, romance and escapes, captures, murders in som *other* area of the world?

JAMES T. FARREL

Going away for a vacation?

Subscribers who want to be sure the *New Republic* follows them should send us, *at least three weeks in advance*, their present address *and* the temporary holiday address.

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1 Communication

(*Continued from page 3*)

rmitted to drink a "coke" at the drug ›re fountain.

Unlike many Negro intellectuals in e South, Lewis tried after a fashion play his part in the public affairs of e community. He liked to voice his ›inions among white citizens on the eet corner, even though he could ver talk with them in their homes. e accepted the humiliation of sitting › the Jim Crow bench in order to tend meetings at the court house.

Most of the townspeople casually as-med that "Doc Lewis" was contented ıth his lot. But, in spite of insistence at "we know our Negroes," few South-n people really know the contempo-ry American Negro.

I knew Steve Lewis and loved him. ardly a week passed that he did not op into my office to talk about the ogress of race tolerance in the nation, ated at some encouraging development saddened by a set-back.

He was on the portly side, with a ›ndness for good cigars. A proud an, he did not like to cringe; he liked › strut. He was able to strut among egroes, but he had long since learned at he could not do that among white ›ople of any class.

There was often bitterness, even rath in his outpourings to me. Some-›nes I thought he was unreasonable. know how he suffered, and dreamed ˆ a Promised Land of human dignity.

In his final illness the fact that I, a hite man, should have shown him the ıtural attention of a friend touched m deeply. His last words to me were: I'll not live to see it, but it's coming. know it's coming—the day when we'll l be just *people*."

I wish he could have heard a United ates District Court say last month in ew Orleans:

. . . The magnitude of the problem may not nullify the principle. And that principle is that we are, all of us, free-born Americans, with a right to make our way, unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God.

BENJAMIN MUSE

Manassas, Va.

[Editor's Note: A former State Senator in Virginia and the *Washington Post and Times Herald* correspondent for that state, Mr. Muse has written two articles recently for this Journal on school desegregation in the South.]

The New Republic *welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.*

► *Stevenson's Defeat in Minnesota*

SIRS:

I understand that in Minnesota 160,000 Republicans voted Democratic. In my opinion they did a very clever thing. Since Adlai Stevenson is the only Democrat who has a chance to defeat Eisenhower, the Republicans would like to get Kefauver in or rather knock Adlai out.

I suggest that those of us who sincerely believe that Adlai Stevenson is the statesman we need—that we back up our belief with proof—a dollar bill shower to Adlai E. Stevenson, 11 S. La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. I'll start by sending Stevenson five dollars.

M. G. STILES

Hollywood, Calif.

". . . discouragement is not called for"

. . . The present flurry and discouragement among Democrats due to the success of Mr. Kefauver in the Minnesota primary is not called for, I believe. It is more than likely that Republicans crossed party lines in order to support the Democratic candidate who had the poorest chance to defeat President Eisenhower. If that is the case, the same tactics will be used in other state primaries. The value of the primaries is rather doubtful and I believe should be minimized by throwing all possible support to Stevenson in the campaign outside of the primaries and at the Convention.

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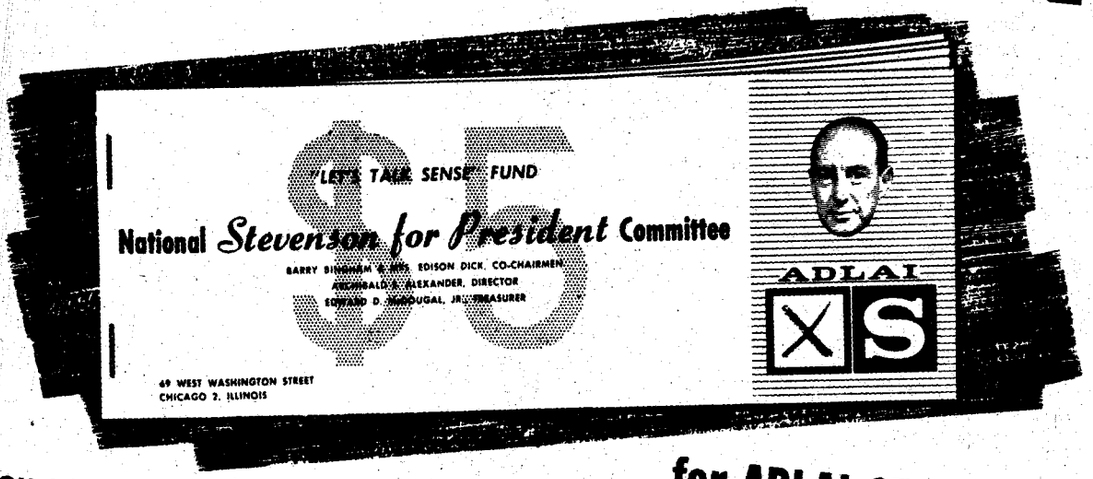

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The Minnesota Primary results have proved one thing – this great Democratic farm belt victory can be a forerunner of a November Democratic Presidential triumph. In his statement following that primary, Adlai Stevenson said:

"I will try even harder to state Democratic principles as I understand them, to get people's best judgment about America's problems and prospects and to help build a firmer peace, a truer prosperity and a fuller brotherhood of man. I ask my kind friends everywhere to redouble their efforts."

In the next few weeks hard-fought State primary campaigns, such as those in Florida and California, will require money – but nothing to match the $5,000,000 raised by the Republicans for radio and television time. If Stevenson is to win, it is up to every supporter to help now – today.

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